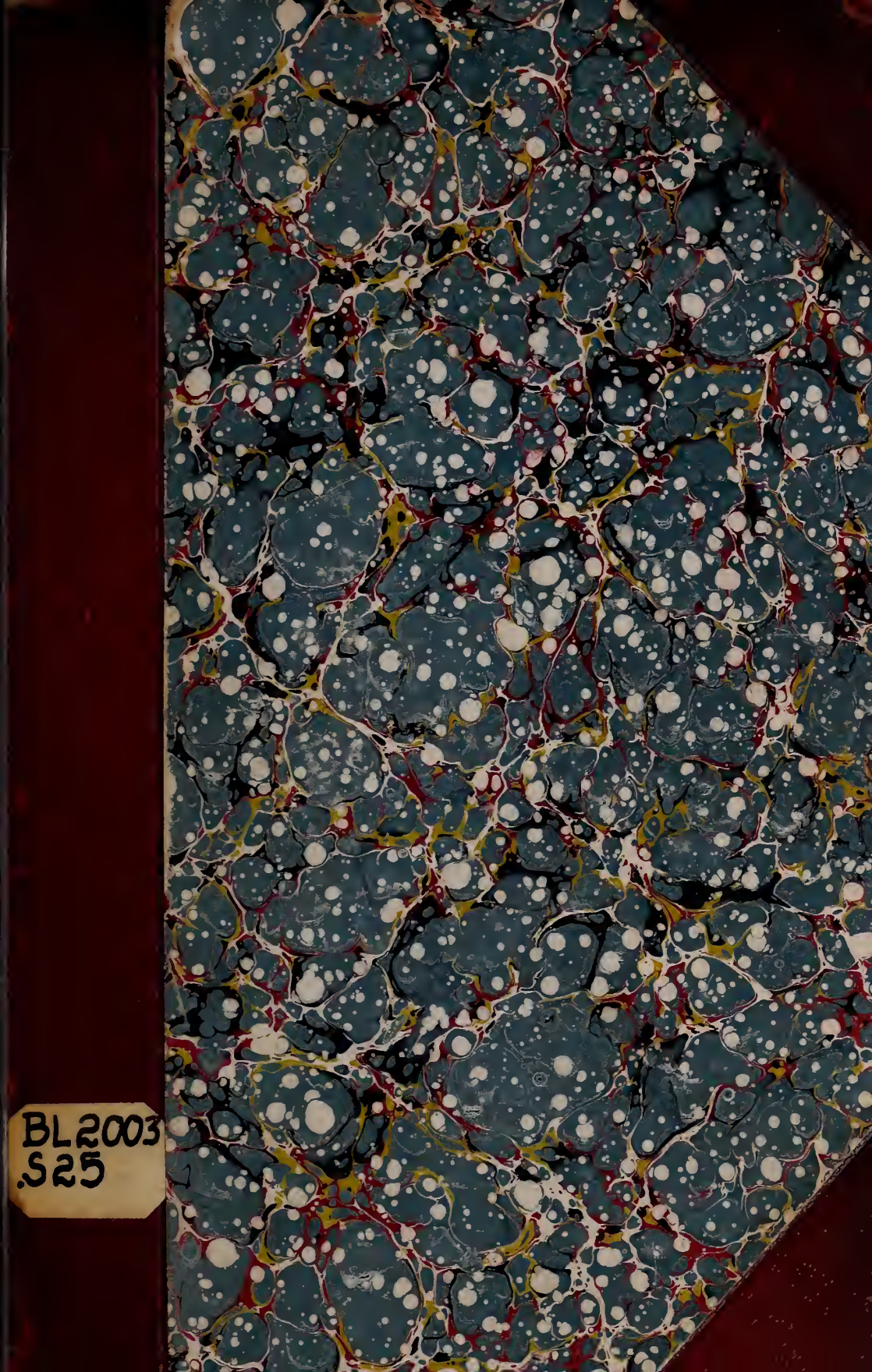

On the Evening of Oct. 27 — just after the delivery of his last Lecture Dr. Satthianadhan handed me this "set" of sheets from which he had read his Lectures. They are set up in India; & are of the nature of page-proofs, without the final corrections for the press. He did not explain to me in what form they were to be published — if they are to be published at all. But I suppose that they are to be, & perhaps have been, issued in India in some form: the form of them, I would suggest, possibly, in some periodical. Meanwhile, as bound together here, they present the Students' Mission Lectures as delivered in 1905–1906: & if they are issued in India in clearer book form, this volume will at least be a memorial of their actual delivery. —

B. B. W.

Princeton Nov. 6 1905.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

SYLLABUS

OF THE

Lectures on the Students' Mission Foundation

For 1905–1906

BY

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Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy

IN THE

Presidency College, Madras, India.

The Lectures will be delivered in the Miller Chapel
October 23–27, at 4.45 P. M.

SUBJECT:

INDIAN PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEMS AS RELATED TO CHRISTIANITY.

LECTURE I.—MONDAY, OCT. 23.

THE SOURCES OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY.

Indian and Greek thought. The nature of the Hindu mind. The Vedas. The naturalistic, polytheistic, and pantheistic elements in Vedism. The Vedic and the Biblical conception of God. The conception of sin in the Vedas. The period of the Brahmanas and Upanishads. The influence of caste. The teaching of the Upanishads. The conception of Braham.

LECTURE II.—TUESDAY, OCT. 24.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEMS OF INDIA.

The six recognized orthodox systems. The features which they hold in common. The doctrine of metempsychosis. Defects in Indian philosophic thought. The Nyaya system founded by Goutama. The Vaishesheka system founded by Kanada. The Sankya system founded by Kapila. The Yoga system founded by Patanjali.

LECTURE III.—WEDNESDAY, OCT. 25.

VEDANTISM AND BUDDHISM.

The Purva Mimamsa of Jaimani. Uttara Mimamsa or Vedantism. Its fundamental doctrine: *Tat tvam asi* ("That art Thou"). The doctrine of Maya. Vedantism and Monistic theories of the West. Vedantism and Christianity. Buddhism and its influence on Hinduism. The doctrine of Nirvana. Jainism.

LECTURE IV.—THURSDAY, OCT. 26.

POST BUDDHISTIC HINDUISM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE BHAGAVAD-GITA.

The causes of the extinction of Buddhism. Popular Hinduism—its sectarian character. Saivism or the worship of Siva. Saktism. Vaishnavism or the worship of Vishnu. The Hindu doctrine of *avatars* or incarnations. The worship of Krishna. The philosophy of the Bhagavad-gita. The doctrine of *bhakti*. The Vaishnava sects. Present-day popular Hinduism.

LECTURE V.—FRIDAY, OCT. 27.

FUNDAMENTAL DOCTRINES OF HINDUISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

The philosophic unity in Hinduism. The difference between Hindu and Christian theology. The deep-rooted pessimism in Hinduism. The Hindu and Christian doctrines of God. The doctrines of transmigration and of Karma examined. The Hindu and the Christian plan of salvation. Oneness with God. The Incarnation and the atonement.

Indian Philosophical Systems with special reference to Christianity.

1.—The Sources of Indian Philosophy.

There is to the human mind no study more interesting and instructive than the tracing of the origin of human thought, and to such a study it is the Greeks and Indians that have made the most valuable contributions. The Greeks and Indians are the only two nations that can boast of a philosophical literature that has developed by itself independently and spontaneously. Other nations have no doubt attempted to throw light on the problems of Life and Mind, and have tried to investigate the hidden mysteries of God, Soul and Immortality, but their speculations are wanting in the characteristics of independence and individuality. The contributions to speculative thought of China, Persia, Syria and Egypt, in themselves fragmentary and insignificant, can be traced more or less to foreign sources, whilst the richer and more elaborate and accurate systems of thought of occidental nations can be shown to have a vital organic connection with the thought systems of Greece and Rome; but this is not the case with the philosophy of India or of Greece, for each has a national stamp of its own.

The Indian thought systems, from one point of view, are even more important than those of Greece, not only because of their earlier origin, but because of their intimate bearing upon religion; for in India it is the metaphysical impulse that has served the interests of religion. In India religion and metaphysics have grown up in one promiscuous growth and have never had a separate existence. Tolstoi's statement: "It is not the mind that understands God, it is life that makes us understand Him" needs to be reversed so far as the religious history of India is concerned, for from the earliest dawn of intellectual consciousness, it has been understood in that land, that religious truth could be fully apprehended by the human reason, that pure

thinking is sufficient to find out God. That religion is something more than a matter of intellectual assent, that it is the practical expression of belief in character and conduct, that it is an attitude of will no less than of the intellect—this is a view that is the hard-earned result of the long course of Hebrew religious experience.

The Hindu mind dreamy, mystical and speculative, with the imaginative side more highly developed than the active, has taken a delight in abstract thought from the very dawn of intellectual consciousness. The conditions of life in India and the climatic environment have also tended to develop this side of his nature. There is no doubt a danger of exaggerating the influence of climate on national character, and writers such as Buckle and Taine carry this principle a little too far; but in accounting for the instinctive speculative nature of the Indian, we should not overlook the influence of climate, which, naturally indisposing the organisation for active exertion, throws the mind back on itself in inward contemplation and complete quiescence. The metaphysical impulse in India has always been directed towards the investigation of ultimate realities. From the time Hindus began to philosophise, philosophy meant with them the science of ultimate realities. To investigate the essence of things, to penetrate beyond the phenomenal, and to lay bear the noumenal, to lay hold of the principle of reality—this was the scope of Indian philosophy. Such a conception of philosophy was late in developing itself in the Greek mind. Even after emerging from the mythological conceptions concerning the origin and nature of the world into a region of abstract thought, the problems of philosophy for a long time presented themselves in crude and concrete form to the Greek mind. It took more than two centuries before the crude view of philosophy, as held by Thales, the founder of the Ionian school, with whom philosophy meant nothing but the investigation of the original material substance out of which the universe was evolved—became elevated and developed by Plato into a consideration of the essence of Being. It was not so in India. The Indian mind, from the very dawn of intellectual consciousness, hurled thought as a venture as it were, into the nature of metaphysical conceptions. Even the metaphysical turn given to the trend of Greek thought by Plato was accidental, for his immediate successor, Aristotle, the great encyclopedic worker, who first mapped out with any

definiteness the limits of the different philosophical sciences, assigns to metaphysics only a secondary place. It is to Aristotle we owe the first clear conception of a science of the *phenomena* of mind, and he is the founder of Psychology just as surely as he is the founder of Logic. The philosophy of Greece, therefore, has always tended in the direction of the positive and real, whereas that of India aimed at the ideal and the immaterial. The ontological turn given to Indian philosophy from the very outset is the result to a great extent of what may be termed the spirit of other worldliness that is so characteristic of the Indian. In no country, under no climate in the world, has religious feeling, in whatever shape, been so firm and constant in the hearts of all classes as in India. Says Dr. Whitney: "no great people surely ever presented the spectacle of a development more predominantly religious, none ever grounded its whole fabric of social and political life more deeply and exclusively on things supernatural, none ever rose on the one hand higher into the very regions of a purely speculative creed or rank, on the other deeper into degrading superstitions, the two extremes to which such a tendency naturally leads."

The germs of Indian religious and philosophic thought are to be found in the Vedas, the earliest repositories of Aryan belief; and there is a close connection between the most modern and the most ancient forms of Hindu thought, extending backwards to over more than 3,000 years. Present-day Hinduism with all that it stands for—its pantheons, its sacrifices, its rituals and ceremonies, its ideals of life, personal and collective, social and moral, its ideas of death and the future—has descended almost without any break in continuity, of course with accretions and variations, from the faith of the Vedic Rishis.

The Vedas constitute the root and foundation of all later religious developments in India and the key to all religious problems. There has not been a single revival movement in India, excepting Buddhism and Jainism, which does not profess to be founded more or less on the authority of the Vedas. In them are to be found the germs of not only polytheism and pantheism, which are the characteristic features respectively of lower and higher Hinduism, but also the foreshadowings of the various systems of philosophy, which pantheism has either assimilated or thrown into the shade. In one word, the key to Hindu religious and philosophic thought is the Vedas.

Veda originally meant 'knowing' or 'knowledge,' and it is a term which is sometimes given to the whole body of Sanskrit literature; but most commonly it is confined to four well-known collections of Hymns: the Rig-Veda, Yajur-Veda, Sâma-Veda and Atharva-Veda. Of these the Rig-Veda—from *Rich*, *Rig*, to celebrate and hence signifying "The Veda of Hymns of praise"—is the most important in intrinsic worth. It is the Veda *par excellence*, for the other Vedas are more or less based upon it and contain extracts from it with sacrificial formulas and incantations. Every Veda consists of two parts—the original collection of the Hymns or Mantras, called also the Sanhita, and the Brâhmanas, which are prose treatises giving information on the proper use of the Hymns at sacrifices, on their sacred meaning, on their supposed authors, known as the Rishis (or Sages), and other topics. For centuries together, the Vedas were handed down entirely from memory, from generation to generation, for written language was the invention of a later age. The earliest manuscript known of the Rig-Veda is not more than 500 years old.

Owing to the lamentable lack of the historic sense, which has always characterised the Indian mind, it is not safe to rely upon native chronology for fixing the date of the Veda. Western authorities, relying upon a thorough investigation of the internal evidence to be derived from the text, have fixed the date of the Rig-Veda somewhere between 1500 and 1230 B.C., though Indian authorities, who profess to be guided by Western critical methods, assign to it a much earlier origin. The Rig-Veda is divided into ten *mandalas* or chapters, which contain hymns varying in number, ascribed to different Rishis and addressed to various deities. Indian tradition ascribes the Vedas to the department of literature called *Sruti*, literally what is heard, in opposition to literature based upon human authority or tradition, known as *Smriti*. Authority, perception and inference have always been regarded as the three legitimate channels of knowledge among Hindus; and authority which is chiefly revelation, Sruti, is considered to be the most important of all sources.

It is difficult to characterise by one single word the religion of the Vedas. "It is not one which has originated in the minds of single individuals, inspired or uninspired and by them been taught to others; it is not one which has been nursed into its present form by the fostering care of a caste or priesthood; it is one which has arisen in the whole body of the people, and

is a true expression of the collective view which a simple-minded but highly-gifted nation inclined to religious veneration took of the wonders of creation and the powers to which it conceived them ascribable. It is, what every original religion must be that is not communicated to man by direct inspiration from above, a nature-religion, a worship of the powers supposed to be back of and produce the phenomena of the visible world."

Nothing is more interesting and instructive to the student of comparative religion than the attempts made in India to arrive at a knowledge of the Infinite and Eternal by reflective and intuitive insight into the nature of things. The theory that the religious instinct in man is the outcome of the emotion of fear, of a vague indefinite dread due to a consciousness of helplessness and to ignorance of secondary causes, is completely disproved by an examination of the earliest forms of religious thought in India. In the Vedas, which constitute one of the most ancient records of the religious aspirations of mankind, we clearly see that the impulse that prompted the Indo-Aryans to address their sublime hymns to the forces of nature were not those of helplessness. All the deities invoked are beneficent, generous, omniscient, omnipotent; they are all bestowers of life, inspirers of knowledge; they are alike the refuge of men, creators of the world, for the benefit of man, radiant with all-searching light, transcending and pervading all worlds. The definition of religion as "habitual and permanent admiration" may be wanting in completeness, but it nevertheless singles out one of the essential qualities connoted by the term religion, and it is this "habitual and permanent admiration," so essentially characteristic of the Indian mind, that accounts for its feeling after one Supreme Eternal Being at all times, if haply He might be found in sky or air, in fire or rain.

The element that is most conspicuous in Vedism is naturalism. The higher gods of the Vedas are personifications of natural phenomena, and that of beneficent phenomena. To the simple Aryans the powers of nature presented themselves as so many personal agents. They saw God in clouds and heard him in the storms. They were not only impressed with the manifold powers of natural phenomena, such as fire and water, wind and storm, thunder and lightning; but their infant mind did not fail to be struck with the unchanging order that prevailed in nature as presented in the recurring seasons, the unvarying regularity of sun

and moon, of dawn and darkness ; and an attempt is made now and then to pierce beyond natural phenomena to the underlying principle of intelligence behind it.

This naturalism, pure and unalloyed at the commencement, because least mixed with the elements of reflection, abstraction and systematizing, gradually becomes intermixed with the mythical element. What makes the Vedas so very important to the student of comparative religion is the light that it throws on the part that the myth plays in the development of natural religion. A myth is " a phenomenon of nature presented not as the result of a law, but as the act of divine or at least superhuman persons, good or evil powers." The peculiarity of the Vedic myths is that we get them so to speak in the very process of making ; we see the process of transformation, the transition from natural experiences to supernatural beliefs go on before our very eyes.

The tendency to deify nature makes the Vedic poets regard everything which impresses by its sublimity or by its power of usefulness even as an object of adoration, hence everything animate and inanimate becomes an object not of blessing only but of prayer. Though the transition from naturalism to polytheism is not hard to draw, and though the nebulous universality of the Vedas is seen in the fact that free play is given to the imagination to invoke any and every deity, still we are not justified in calling the Vedic religion polytheism, if by this term we understand a more or less organised hierarchy of gods differing in power and rank, and all subordinate to a supreme deity. It has been well said that the Vedic polytheism differs from the Greek and Roman polytheism just as a confederacy of village communities differs from a monarchy. In the Vedas, the gods worshipped stand side by side. There is no first nor last, there is no rule of precedence, and each God is to the mind of the supplicant supreme and absolute without any limitations. We are struck with the perfect freedom with which the so-called Devas or gods are handled, and particularly the ease and naturalness with which now the one, now the other emerges out of this chaotic theogony. According to the varying aspects of nature, according to the varying moods of the worshipper, it is sometimes Indra, the god of the blue sky, sometimes Agni, the god of fire, sometimes Varuna, the ancient god of the firmaments, who is praised as supreme, without any idea of rivalry or any idea of subordination. It is to this peculiar phase of religion,

which may be regarded in a way as the first stage in the growth of polytheism, Prof. Max Müller gives the name of henotheism.

Between polytheism and pantheism there is no sharp demarcation line. The one imperceptibly merges into another. Pantheism is the intellectual climax of the evolution of natural religion, and from the cradle onwards India has been radically pantheistic. The dominant idea of later philosophic Hinduism, the belief in the unity of the spirit under a plurality of forms, now and then merges in Vedism with striking force, and as religious mysticism became developed into philosophical speculation, this doctrine of the one supreme being becomes crystalized into definite shape. There is a striking passage in one of the hymns of the Rig-Veda (X. 129, 2) which is appealed to by modern Hindu reformers as their sole authority for their belief in monism, and, it runs to this effect: "That which is the one, the wise call it in different ways": Again "wise poets make the beautiful-winged, though he is one, manifold by words." Some of the sublimest hymns of the Rig-Veda are those in which the Rishis give expression to their feelings after this one Supreme Being, if happily He might be found in sky or air, in fire or rain. The expression *Tad Ekam—that one* (neuter)—is applied to this Being. It is this conception of *Tad Ekam*, the one who is formless, qualitiless, that becomes developed into the conception of the *Brahman*, which is the leading term in Hindu philosophy. Two celebrated passages have often been quoted from the Rig-Veda as indicating a monotheistic conception of the Divine Being. One is the famous hymn to the unknown God (Rig-Veda X. 121), which runs as follows :—

"In the beginning there arose the golden Child. He was the one born lord of all that is. He established the earth, and this sky;--Who is the god to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

"He who gives life, He who gives strength; whose command all the bright gods revere; whose shadow is immortality; whose shadow is death;—Who is the god to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

"He who through His power is the one king of the breathing and awakening world; He who governs all, man and beast;—Who is the god to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

"He whose greatness these snowy mountains;—whose greatness the sea proclaims with the distant rivers—He whose these regions are, as it were His two arms;—Who is the god to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

"He through whom the sky is bright and the earth firm; He through whom the heaven was established—nay, the highest heaven—He who

measured out the light in the air;—Who is the god to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

"He to whom heaven and earth, standing firm by His will, look up, trembling inwardly—He over whom the rising sun shines forth;—Who is the god to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

"Wherever the mighty water-clouds went, where they placed the seed and lit the fire, thence arose He who is the sole life of the bright gods; Who is the god to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

"He who by His might looked even over the water-clouds—the clouds which gave strength and lit the sacrifice; He who alone is God above all gods;—Who is the god to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?

"May He not destroy us—He the creator of the earth; or He, the righteous who created the heaven; He also created the bright and mighty waters;—Who is the god to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?"

The yearning after a principle of cosmical unity is no doubt strong in this celebrated hymn, and the tenth verse of this hymn refers even to a personal god, Prajapati, as the Lord of all created things; it runs as follows:—"O Prajapati! no other but thou hast held together all these things; whatever we desire in sacrificing to thee may that be ours, may we be the Lords of wealth." But some Vedic authorities hold that this verse which refers to a Divine Personality—Prajapati—is a later interpolation. However this may be, the hymn quoted above can bear a pantheistic interpretation as well.

Yet another hymn, known as the creation hymn, is equally striking and has often been appealed to as indicating a belief in monotheism (Rig-Veda X. 129).

"There was then neither what is nor what is not, there was no sky, nor the heaven which is beyond. What covered? Where was it, and in whose shelter? Was the water the deep abyss (in which it lay)?

"There was no death, hence was there nothing immortal. There was no light (distinction) between night and day. That One breathed by itself without breath, other than it there has been nothing.

"Darkness there was, in the beginning all this was a sea without light; the germ that lay covered by the husk, that One was born by the power of heat Tapas.

"Love overcame it in the beginning, which was the seed springing from mind; poets having searched in their hearts found by wisdom the bond of what is in what is not.

"Their ray which was stretched across was it below or was it above? There were seed bearers, there were powers, self-power below, and will above.

"Who then knows, who has declared it here, from whence was born this creation? The gods came later than this creation, who then knows whence it arose?"

"He from whom this creation arose, whether he made it or did not make

it, the Highest Seer in the highest heaven, he forsooth knows; or does even he not know ? "

Here is affirmed in language which is most sublime a self-existent substance, the first term in existence, the starting point in the evolution of things, but notwithstanding the bold speculative character of this hymn and its indication of advanced philosophic thought, we cannot for a moment admit that it enunciates the belief in anything beyond a vague first principle, impersonal in character, which out of a process of self-development gave rise to everything in the universe, a doctrine which is the every basis of pantheism. It is in this hymn there is suggested that thought which became the conspicuous feature of higher Hinduism, the "emanation of the world and of all the forms of life that successively people it out of the sole reality, the self that permeates and vitalizes all things, through the agency of the unreality that was spread at the self-feigned fiction, the cosmical illusion—Maya."

We do not deny a monotheistic leaning in some of the hymns, but it is nothing more than the indefinite monotheism which must be at the basis of every form of polytheism, arising out of a vague sense of a want of unity, which thinking men attempted to satisfy by an artificial fusion of all the gods, or by identifying one god with several others, or by positing one supreme god above everything else. Such a monotheism can hardly be distinguished from pantheism, for it leaves unsettled the question of the relation of God to the universe, of the Creator to the creature.

It is extremely difficult to get a definite conception of God from the Vedas. There is no formulation of a doctrine of God anywhere. How very striking is the difference between the Theism of the Old Testament and these pathetic groupings after a principle of unity with the help of human speculation! The Bible does not deal in guesses and speculations. Its account of the nature of God is clear, emphatic, having the stamp of revealed truth. The monotheism of the Old Testament was not a mere rational idea creating a philosophy, but a belief surcharged with personality that had become incorporated into the life-blood of the nation. The thought of one God, living, personal, righteous, immediate in the governance of the world He made is what is clear and defined throughout the Bible. "It had none of the qualities of an intellectual concept, did not define

or deny, but simply affirmed as of a definite person. The God of the people is a living God and acts, loves, hates, thinks, wills as a Being must who has made a nation His special concern and care." I admit that Israel's conception of God was at first somewhat narrow, but this narrow conception becomes enlarged and perfected with thoughts of all embracing powers of righteousness, while, throughout, the living personality of God, commanding, chiding, ruling, loving, urging men to likeness with Himself is conspicuous. The fact is, that while Hindu Aryan thought rises to a conception of God by an interpretation of Nature, the Semetic race rose to a conception of God by an interpretation of man as well as of nature.

The conception of God in the Bible is based just as much upon a recognition of the infinitude of his dealings with man as upon the majesty of his power immanent in Nature. Nature can never by herself give us a full or final revelation of the Creator. Man may find in Nature a Power which is not himself, a Power immeasurably above himself, but he can conceive this Power only in terms of force, not in terms of will. It is impossible to find a full revelation of the Divine in physical Nature alone. The final witness to God will always be found in the words of Augustine, "Thou hast created us for Thyself, and our heart is restless till it find rest in Thee."

Even after making the fullest allowance for all that is elevating and inspiring in the Vedas, it must be admitted that the conception of God placed before us by the Rishis is after all what "man in bonds of nature," man rudimentary, instinctive, absorbed in material objects, dependent upon his own natural faculties, has been able to arrive at. In the Vedas we see man in search after God; the spiritual hunger and thirst are no doubt manifest in most hymns but everything begins and ends in speculation; and there is nothing satisfying, as we miss the divine response to man's passionate cry for "light, more light."

The radical difference between the conception of God as given in the Vedas and as given in the Bible leads also to different ways of conceiving the relation between God and man, and of human duty towards God. The relation between man and gods as shown in the hymns of the Rig-Veda is no doubt very close. Man is dependent on the gods for all the necessaries of his life. Prayers and offerings are necessary to win their favour or forgiveness, and the expectation of something in return for the offering is

prominent in all the hymns. In fact, as Barth puts it, most of the earlier hymns to the gods amount to this; "Here is butter, give us cows." With one exception the moral element is not so very conspicuous in the Vedic gods. It is true the gods are represented as "true" and not "deceitful," but even that mind you, where only friends and not enemies are concerned; but on the whole it is not so much moral elevation as greatness and power that are regarded as the prominent characteristics of the Vedic gods. It is only in the hymns addressed to Varuna there is any approach to the ethical conception of God with which Christians are familiar. As a moral governor Varuna stands far above any other deity. His omniscience is often dwelt on. He knows the flight of the birds in the sky, the path of ships in the ocean, the course of the far travelling wind. He beholds all the secret things that have been or shall be done. He witnesses men's truth and falsehood. No creature can even wink without him. His wrath is roused by sin, which is the infringement of his ordinances and which he severely punishes. He is at the same time grateful to the penitent. He releases men not only from the sins which they themselves commit but from those committed by their fathers. There is, in fact, no hymn to Varuna in which the prayer for forgiveness of guilt does not occur, as in the hymns to other deities the prayer for worldly goods.

Vedic authorities are not quite agreed as to the extent to which sin is recognized in the Vedas. Prof. Weber says "the religious notion of sin is wanting altogether and submissive gratitude to the gods is as yet quite foreign to the Indian in the Vedic age." Max Müller's view is the very opposite; for he says "the consciousness of sin is a prominent feature in the religion of the Veda, so is likewise the belief that the gods are able to take away from men the heavy burden of his sin." The truth lies between these two extremes. While consciousness of sin is a prominent feature in the small number of hymns addressed to Varuna, while in these hymns sin is recognized as a voluntary transgression of divine law, while man is regarded as having a natural tendency to sin and being a prey to temptations, and while it is admitted that the effect of sin is to separate man from God, still, notwithstanding all this, "of that moral conviction, that moral enthusiasm for goodness and justice, that moral hatred of wrong and evil, that zeal for righteousness, that anguish for penitence, which has elsewhere marked religious poetry, there is singularly little trace"

in the Vedas. We shall see later on how the philosophic presuppositions of higher Hinduism tend to make light of the sense of sin; whilst popular Hinduism tends to confound extreme ceremonialism with fundamental morality.

The doctrine of the sinfulness of man is the corner-stone of Bible teaching and Christianity gathers up and accentuates all the highest teachings of all other religions as to sin, and adds elements unconceived before. It is the Christian doctrine of sin that does full justice to the deepest human consciousness of guilt. Man is sinful, not only weak save in God's strength, but filled with corroding sin, the principle of death. Sin is not a mere incident in man's life; it does not consist only in separate actions, which may be termed the atomic theory of sin. It has to do with the inner springs of action, with motives, with the person himself, his character; it is a conception which makes us think not of what man has done, but of what he is. The sinful action is the symptom or the outcome of a sinfulness which already characterises the actor; it proceeds from a corruption or depravity of nature, which may be a far more serious thing than any given manifestation of it. The Scriptural view of sin also emphasizes the fact that sin is not only "personal but social; not only social but organic; that character and all that is involved in character are capable of being attributed not only to individuals but to societies and eventually to the human race itself; in short that there are not only isolated sins and individual sinners but what has been called a kingdom of sin upon earth." The Christian conception of sin is also inseparable from the idea of guilt. Sin is something for which we are answerable to God and though sin may pass, the responsibility for it remains. Metaphysicians talk of realities, but there is nothing more terribly real to the human soul than sin, for it is a real violation of the will of God which ought to be our own will; it mars the God-like beauty which is native to the soul; it isolates it from the source of life; and removes it from the breast of the Almighty who breathed it into being. The reality of guilt arising from our violation of God's will, therefore, is accentuated everywhere in the Bible. From what has been said it will be seen how the Bible treatment of sin differs from the conception of sin we meet with in the Hindu Scriptures. We should not therefore be surprised at the radical difference between the Christian and the Hindu plan of salvation, which will be referred to later on.

If the period of Hindu religious thought, as reflected in the Vedic hymns, may be said to date roughly from 1500 to 1000 B.C., the next period of religious thought, which may be termed the period of the Brahmanas and Upanishads may be said to cover approximately the period between 800 and 500 B.C. The Brahmanas, composed at different periods by different families of priests, are prose treatises consisting of regulations regarding the employment of the Mantras in the worship, including specially the various sacrifices. They contain the oldest rituals of the Aryan race and represent a further development in the Vedic religion. The old simple nature worship of the Rishis becomes formal, ritualistic and complicated. It is no longer the religion of the people, it is the religion of the priest. In one word Vedism is changed into Brahmanism,—the religion of the Brahmana, or Vedic Mantras; of the Brahman, the highest of the four Hindu castes; and of the Brahmanas the priestly manuals. The Vedic deities continue the same, but the Pantheon becomes enlarged and the door becomes opened for the admission of a host of allegorical personification, spirits and even demons and goblins. As the Brahmans gained greater and greater ascendency, they tried to place themselves on a level with the Devas, and as a consequence the reverence for the latter diminished, except in the case of one or two deities who begin to occupy an increasingly prominent place in the Hindu pantheon. The worship of Rudra, the storm-God of the Rig-Veda, gained in popularity during this period, and Vishnu occupies a more prominent position than during the Vedic period. It is these two deities that play the most important part in later Hinduism. The need of a supreme God, as the maker and ruler of the universe, also seems to have been felt keenly at this time, and the Vedic plan of endowing some of the surnames of the ancient gods, in particular of the fire God Agni, with distinct personalities seems to have become common during this period; hence the frequent mention also of gods such as *Viswakarman*, "the maker of all things," *Brahmanaspathy*, "the lord of spells or of prayer," *Prajapati*, "the lord of creatures," but these names are soon eclipsed by another significant word,—the history of which in a sense is the history of Hindu theology and Hindu philosophy—it is the word *Brahman*. Brahman comes from the Sanskrit root *Vrih* or *Brih*, which means 'to grow,' 'to come forth,' and hence conveys the idea of energy; and as speech is one of the conspicuous manifesta-

tions of energy Brahman also came to mean 'word,' or 'sacred word,' or 'prayer.' In this sense Brahman bears a close resemblance to the Greek word *Logos*. Besides signifying the power or force that is manifest in speech, it also means the power or force that is manifest in the world. The *To On*, that which really exists and is immanent in all forces and forms. Amid the chaos of bewildering views, metaphysical, cosmological and even ethical in Vedic literature, there is one aspect of thought which struggles for dominance, that is pantheism; and the whole essence of pantheism is concentrated in that single word *Brahman*. Whilst in philosophic Brahmanism, as illustrated in the Upanishads, we have the development of the idea of Brahman (neuter), in popular Brahmanism there is an attempt to exalt Brahma (masculine) as the all-ruling personal deity. Taken all in all, however, the period of pre-Buddhistic Brahmanism was characterized by extravagant symbolism and mechanical sacerdotalism. The simplicity, the elevation and delicacy of feeling, which characterize the Vedic hymns, become lost in rites and ceremonies, the most stupendous and complicated ever invented by man.

The great efficacy of sacrifices is emphasized during the period of the Brahmanas in a way that has never been done before. Sacrifice (Yajna) is the very soul of the Vedas and the due presentation of sacrificial offering formed the kernel of all religious service; for prayer, praise, teaching, and repetition of Mantras were all processes subsidiary to this act. In no other religion in the world has the idea of sacrifice been made so effective an instrument for the exaltation of sacerdotal claims as in Hinduism.

The Brahmanic religion seems also to have come completely under the influence of caste during the period of the Brahmanas, for. by the sixth century B.C., the system of caste was fully established. Caste is the name given to the original division of the Hindu social body into four distinct, well-defined classes :—(1) The priests—Brahmans; (2) the warriors—Kshatriya or Rajanya; (3) the working class—Vaisya (farmers, craftsmen and traders); and (4) the menial class—Sudras. It would be taking an erroneous view of caste if we were to regard it as similar to the civil and social distictions of Western nations. Caste is rank with sharp impassable boundaries, which admit no one who is born without them. The peculiarity which has characterized caste in India, from very early times, is that nowhere else the distinctions between man and man were so rigidly set, the separating lines

drawn so deep and straight; nowhere else were men so sternly doomed to live and die within the pale of the social status into which they were born; and, what is worse, nowhere else did the priesthood claim such absolute pre-eminence, demand such unconditional submissiveness, such almost servile self-abasement from all other members of the community. The essence of caste distinction consists in the fact that different origins are claimed for the four ranks, thus denying the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. This is not the place to enter into an investigation of the origin of caste, for the sacred books of the Hindus themselves present the greatest varieties of speculation on the subject. One great effect of caste, however, has to be noticed here. It has drawn the attention of the people of India away from the true spirit of religion and concentrated it upon outward ceremonies and meaningless rites. The superiority of the Brahmans is the hinge on which the whole organisation of caste turns. They form the great central body around which the different classes and orders of beings revolve like satellites. Perfection is attained by him alone who is a strict observer of the duties of his caste, and moral purity is placed on a level with the prescriptions of sacerdotalism. The dominating influence of caste became more and more prominent as the power of the Brahmans increased. Woman was kept in complete dependence, the Sudra was despised, and those who stood outside the community were doomed to a life of the greatest misery and were esteemed no higher than sacrificial animals.

We have seen how, during the period of the Brahmanas, the simple nature worship of the Vedic times was converted into a religion of forms and ceremonies by the sacerdotal class which had become a hereditary caste by that time. But this phase of religion which was nothing but pure mechanical sacerdotalism did not quite satisfy the more earnest seekers after truth. The minds of thinking men found no rest in external rites, and as a reaction from overdone ritual and the petrified ceremonial and formal symbolism of the liturgists, people took refuge in speculative inquiries and metaphysical investigations. Thus arose the second form of Brahmanism whose special Bible was the Upanishads.

The Upanishads, which constitute a voluminous miscellaneous literature, consist of a mixture of half-poetical and half-philosophical fancies or dialogues and disputations dealing tenta-

tively with metaphysical questions. They were produced at various periods, the earliest of them being not later than 600 B.C. The word Upanishad, literally means, "sitting down beside," and hence signified primarily "confidential session," and secondarily "secret or esoteric doctrine," as the teachings that were cogitated at these sittings were taught to select pupils. Though there is no attempt at a systematic exposition of philosophic principles in the Upanishads, though the several solutions suggested of the problems concerning God, man and the universe are sometimes contradictory, still they contain the earliest Aryan notion of the totality of things, and it is not impossible to weave the many thoughts contained in them into a system. To a great extent Vedantism, the characteristic philosophy of India, is based upon the Upanishads. In spite of their obscurity, in spite of any serious attempt at method, classification and arrangement; in spite of irregular flights of the imagination, these writings undoubtedly contain some of the sublimest utterances of the human soul in search after God, and in them Indian intelligence reaches as it were its high water-mark. We are struck with the audacity with which transcendental subjects are handled and the pathetic boldness with which Indian sages, with the aid of mere thought, try to participate in the Divine life.

Though the Upanishads are regarded as forming part and parcel of the Brahmanas still they really represent a new religion, they point to a new view of salvation. Their aim is no longer the attainment of earthly happiness and afterwards heavenly bliss by the offerings of sacrifices to the gods, which was the path of rites and ceremonies taught in the Brahmanas, and hence known as KARMA-MARGA, they profess to show the means by which man may obtain release from mundane existence by the absorption of the individual soul, Atman, in the world-soul, Brahman, through correct knowledge. This is the path of knowledge, JNANA-MARGA; and the all-compromising nature of Hinduism is seen in its recognizing both the forms as necessary for salvation,—the KARMA-MARGA being necessary for the people of the villages, the unlettered millions toiling in the fields or feeding their flocks and coming into contact with the stern realities of the world; and the JNANA-MARGA or path of knowledge for the sages that have renounced the world and sought the quiet of the jungle freeing themselves from the shackles of social and family ties.

It is in the Upanishads that we notice the transition from

the pure, simple, joyous nature-worship, untrammelled with laming self-consciousness, which was the faith of the Vedic period, into that introspective brooding metaphysical mysticism which has become the characteristic feature of Hindu thought ; and this transition was the result of some new influences that were at work in Hindu religious history. In the first place, the belief in the beneficent powers which characterized the Vedic period gives way, partly from climatic influences, and partly from contact with the ruder semi-savage races, to a belief in non-beneficent deities; hence the conversion of the worship of RUDRA into that of the terrific SIVA; the introduction of the practice of self-torture; and the belief in the migration of the soul which led to a dreary pessimism,—the belief in the misery of every form of sentient life. It is strange that the doctrine of transmigration which has taken so strong a hold of the Indian mind, and which is the corner stone of Hinduism, finds no place whatever in the Rig-Veda. Though Vedic literature testifies clearly to the belief in a future life, this belief is not the outcome of a melancholy view of the vanity of existence, a cynical contempt of all things temporal, which tried to find consolation in an imaginary world of existence beyond the grave. The joy of living, the feeling of real import in actual and present experience, a hearty and healthy love of earthly life, these seem reflected almost in every hymn of the Rig-Veda, but turn to the Upanishads and we find an entirely different attitude towards life and its experiences. The thought that is most prominent in all the Upanishads is the burden of life, the inexplicable dissonance in existence. Through æon after æon, through embodiment after embodiment, there is in the stream of life nothing but anguish of birth, of care, hunger, weariness, bereavement, sickness, decay and death. The soul floats helplessly along the stream of lives like a gourd on the surface of water. It is not so much moral as physical evils that constitute the chief source of misery. In fact activity of every kind whether good or evil, is an imperfection. The sum and substance of Indian philosophy is from beginning to end the misery of metempsychosis; and the aim of wisdom is therefore to liberate the soul from the evils of existence.

There is a logical connection between the theory of the misery of life and the doctrine of metempsychosis, which briefly stated amounts to this:—Each living soul is to pass from body to body, from sphere to sphere, in obedience to a retributive operation,

with the blind and fatal movement of a natural law. To this series of lives there will be no end. As plant proceeds from seed and seed from plant so the progress of rebirths will be repeated on and on, on and on. It is only to the profound sage, who through knowledge becomes finally absorbed into the frontal existence of the universe that there will be any final deliverance. It is the adoption of the doctrine of metempsychosis that is the chief source of the pessimism so characteristic of Indian thought. Life and all its connected activities are a burden to the Indian, leaving nothing but blank despair.

Once the view that life is a burden and that activity is the root of pain took possession of the Indian mind strongly, the question of questions, not only to the philosophical thinker but to the practical moralist, became this: How is it possible to turn back on every form of life and escape from all further embodiments? In one word how to extricate oneself from metempsychosis. The question was attempted to be solved with the help of another question which had engaged the attention of Indian sages from the very dawn of intellectual consciousness, *viz.*, What is it that is real? The second question, which receives only a vague and indefinite solution in some of the cosmological speculations contained in the Vedic hymns, meets with a clear and definite solution in the Upanishads. In the midst of change and decay, there is one thing which remains unchanging, which is untouched with the hunger and thirst, pain and sorrow, decay and death and all the vicissitudes which affect life; one thing which is above and beyond all conscious thought, transcending the relation of subject and object and can only be spoken of as "not this," "not this." It is the highest self or BRAHMAN, the spiritual principle that permeates everything. "The eye reaches it not," says an old writer, basing his comments on a well-known passage in the Kena Upanishad, "speech reaches it not, thought reaches it not; we know not, we understand it not, how we should teach it; it is other than the known, above the unknown. Thus have we heard of the ancients who proclaimed it to us. That which is not uttered by the voice, that by which the voice is uttered; know then that that only is the self and not that which men meditate upon as such. That which is not thought by the thought, that by which the thought is thought; know then that only is the self, and not that which men meditate upon as such."

It will be seen from the above that this BRAHMAN cannot be identified with conscious spirit. It is true that some poets ascribe to BRAHMAN existence, intelligence and beatitude, speaking of it as SAT-CHIT-ANANDA but BRAHMA is not intelligence or thought in our sense of the word. This thought is characterless and eternal; it is thought without a thinker. BRAHMAN is beatitude, but not beatitude in the ordinary sense of the word. It is a bliss beyond the distinction of subject and object, a bliss the poets of the Upanishads liken to dreamless sleep.

Between this conception of BRAHMAN, as explained in the Upanishads, and the Christian conception of God there is a great gulf fixed. Brahman *per se* is neither God nor conscious God. It is knowledge if you like, but knowledge without an object known or a subject knowing; it is an empty universality, a *caput mortuum* of the abstract understanding, of which nothing can be further said than that it is the alone existing being, while the world in this particular is empty seeming and deception. The Christian view emphasizes personality as the chief characteristic of God. God is not a being who sits serene unconcerned about the things that are going on in this world of ours, but He manifests His will in every little event that is happening. Human experience far from being an illusion, manifests one of the most striking revelations of God. It is true the finite mind of man cannot grasp all God's infinite possibilities, but then all that constitutes the prerogative of human mind over spiritless nature must be found in God in perfect manner, without of course human limitations; and hence the free self-activity which unfolds its inner unity into a multiplicity of living forms and states, in the art of distinguishing itself and which abides by itself. It is this self-conscious and self-determining power, which constitutes the essence of spiritual being in man, that is found perfect in all its infiniteness and unconditionedness in God. The Christian idea of God has two sides to it, the moral and religious ideal which represents him as Holy Lord and merciful Father, an ideal which comes out strongly in the prophetic and apostolic teachings; and the metaphysical ideal which regards him as the infinite Spirit exalted above all human limitation, the ground of the existence and of the order of the universe, in whom we live and move and have our being.

One of the greatest of all texts in the Upanishads is: *That art Thou*, occurring in the Chhandogya Upanishad, which

means that the individual soul (Atman) is one with the universal soul, and the universal soul one with the individual soul. It is ignorance that keeps this knowledge hidden from our eyes, and it is the separated condition of the soul that is the cause of mental error as well as of moral evil. To penetrate through the unreal into the real, to refund one's personality into the impersonality of the one and only self, this is the way to attain salvation and free self from the tangles of metempsychosis. How is this union to be effected? The way to it is by the renouncement of family, home and worldly ties; the laying aside of the five successive vestures of the soul, by repression of every feeling, every desire and every thought; and the practice of apathy, vacuity and ecstasy.

In the later Upanishads an exhaustive account is given of the way to induce the ecstatic state; such as suppression of the breath, protracted bodily stillness, the concentration of attention on something insignificant so as to bring about a stupefying fixity of look, the mental repetition of strange sets of formulae, meditations on the unfathomable mysteries contained in certain monosyllables, such as the famous *Om*, which is the BRAHMAN itself. Some of the means recommended are, strange to say, more or less the same as those now given for inducing self-hypnotism. In fact this part of the teachings of the Upanishads was later on worked up into a definite system of philosophy—the Yoga philosophy. A rigorous process of abstraction melts away the nutrimentitious vesture of the soul into the vesture of vital airs, this into the sensorial vesture, this into the cognitional vesture, this into the beatific vesture of the soul in union with the Demiurgus. The final consummation is reached when the soul re-enters the one and only self, returning to its proper state of perfect indetermination, to abide in itself as characterless being, pure intelligence, undifferenced beatitude.

> "The one remains, the many change and pass,
> Heaven's light for ever shines, earth's shadows fly.
> Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,
> Stains the white radiance of eternity."

No one can deny the loftiness of the spiritual ideal placed before us in the Upanishads. It is nothing short of union with the eternally real, the one thing that exists, and beside which all other things are illusory. There is an aspect of this ideal which is identical with the Christian ideal. Self-abnegation—death to

self and death to the world—is laid down in the Upanishads as a preliminary step towards salvation, and the Christian ideal also emphasizes the abnegation of self, but not with a view to suppress all activities, to attain a state of unconscious consciousness in which state the sin and sorrow of the world, the struggles and temptations of those around us shall cease to trouble, but in order that we may be able the better to help ourselves and mankind in their attempts to lead a higher life. The Christian too must say, "I am crucified to the world," that is I count all things that the world can give as dross when compared with the highest object of my life, that is the consciousness of union with CHRIST in whom all truth and beauty are concentrated, but he will find that this very crucifixion of self enables him to live a fuller because a nobler life, for he can add "nevertheless I live." "At every stage there is no negation, but positive attainment of life, more life and fuller; more personal and intense, like the life of Him who is alive for evermore." In one word Christianity teaches us that life not death, nor annihilation is the goal of salvation. To be made one with the Divine, "not in the dull abyss of characterless non-entity, lapsing from the personal down to the impersonal, from the animate to the inanimate, from the self back to the mere things, but in the reciprocal embrace of conscious love, mutually realised and enjoyed, known even as we are known."

If the test of truth is to be found in experience then the teaching of the Upanishads contradicts human experience. Nothing is so characteristic of human experience as the sense of limitation, of dependence, of failure in the struggle to lead a higher and nobler life, and it is not so much the consciousness of physical as of moral weakness that produces in man the longing for Divine help, and yet the one thing that the Upanishads insist on is that man by his own efforts, by contemplation chiefly, can attain salvation. By intense meditation, he has only to make his soul literally re-enter his heart again in order to bring it into contact with the supreme unity, and enable the *Jivatman*, the individual *atman*, to become identical with the *Paramatman*, the supreme *atman*. The practical consequences of such a doctrine is a morality of renunciation, a scorn of all duties affecting personal life and conduct in this world. The essential thing is to stifle desire, to put an end to activity, and the idea of the devout life becomes the life of the Yogi or the Sanyasin. Moral distinctions are good in their way, but they concern only the

lower life. As soon as the soul has acquired the perfect immediate certainty that it is not different from the supreme *atman*, it no longer experiences doubts or desires. It still acts, or rather the consequences of its previous actions still act for it, almost as the wheel of a potter continues to revolve when the workman has ceased to turn it. But as water passes over the leaf of the lotus without wetting it, so these acts no longer affect the soul. It attaches itself no longer to anything; it no longer sins; the "bond" of the "karman" is broken; unity is virtually restored. This is the *Yoga*, the state of union.

No creed invented by man tends so much to foster spiritual pride as that planned out in the Upanishads; and yet strange to say no religion has had so depressing an effect upon any nation as this creed which asserts the identity of the *Jivatman* with the *paramatman* has had upon the Hindu mind. BARTH has described in his able work on the *Religions of India*, the effect which the teaching of the Upanishads has had on Hindu religious thought and character; we quote his words here for they summarize effectively the strength and weakness of Hindu religious thought in so far as they have been affected by the Upanishads. Speaking of the doctrines of the Upanishads he says, "They appear to us to be from the first much more instinct with the spirit of speculative daring than the sense of suffering and weariness. It is nevertheless true that they are far from wearing a serene aspect, they have had in the end a depressing effect upon the Hindu mind. They have accustomed him to recognise no medium between mental excitement and torpid indifference, and they have in the end impressed upon all he produces a certain monotonous character, compounded of sobriety and ungratified zeal. For these doctrines will not only be transmitted in the school, as a philosophical system, but all the aspirations, good and bad, of the Hindu people will henceforth find in them their fit expression. They will supply to all the sects a theological sense of a high order. Some will be inspired by them as with an ideal, and under their inspiration will arise at intervals a set of works of incomparable elevation and delicacy of sentiment, whilst others will drag them down to their own level and treat them as a repertory stored with common places. The less religious will borrow from them the externals of devotion; the baser sort and more worthless will wrap themselves up in their mysticism and appropriate their formulæ. It is with the word Brahman and

deliverance on his lips that the alchemist will form to himself a religion of his search for the philosophical stone—that the votaries of KALI will slaughter their victims, and certain of the Sivites will give themselves over to their notorious revels. It is not easy to explain declensions so profound as these, happening alongside of such works as the *Bhagavad-Gita*, the *Kural*, and even certain portions of the *Puranas*, and no literature so demonstrates as this does the vanity of mysticism and its inability to provide anything that will prove durable. The number of times that minds of no ordinary stamp have in this way tried to reconstruct the work of the Upanishads is truly prodigious. The majority of these attempts differ from each other only in certain details of facts, what may be said of all them is that they are always, and very drearily too, telling the same story over and over again; at the outset an effort full of spirit and instinct with lofty aims, followed soon after by an irredeemable collapse and as final result, a new sect and a new superstition.

II.—The Philosophical Systems of India: I.

Systematic philosophic thought was a product of later growth in India ; for, though a floating mass of opinions, metaphysical and religious, has been the common property of India from the earliest ages, still it was only after the Upanishad period that any attempts were made to work up these ideas into consistent systems. The Upanishads represent the soil which contained the seeds of speculative thought which sprang up and had their full growth in the famous six great systems of philosophy ; for though, as we have seen, a thread of unity is discernible in the teaching of the Upanishads, still they contain in the germ views of all kinds which formed the starting points of opposing systems of thought. All attempts to fix the exact dates of the six recognised systems of philosophy have completely failed. All that we can say, with any probable degree of certainty, is that they flourished about the fifth, fourth and third centuries B.C., that is the period which gave rise to the great rationalistic movement known as Buddhism, as a protest against the pure mechanical sacerdotalism, the formal symbolism and petrified ceremonialism characteristic of the period of the Brahmanas. The six systems of philosophy are generally regarded as orthodox systems and Buddhism is relegated to the category of the heterodox, but there is as much free, unfettered speculation in the six systems as there is in Buddhism, only that the Systematists, that is the founders of the Schools, profess a mere formal adherence to the authority of the Vedas, whereas Buddhism repudiates Vedic authority altogether. It is strange that some of the doctrines contained in the orthodox systems of philosophy, in spite of the reverence which their authors shew for the Vedas as the oracles of truth, are undistinguishable from the doctrines of Buddhism. A convenient way by which the philosophers tried to obtain Vedic sanction for sceptical theories, the result of unbridled rational thought, was by making a distinction between the *Karma Kanda*, or the Chapter on Works in the Veda and the *Gnana Kanda*, or the Chapter on Knowledge. The former being intended for the ignorant, it is said, was revealed in the infancy of human society, and the latter as suited to minds of a higher order was communicated in a more enlightened age. In this way speculations of the most daring kind, atheistic in their

nature, were regarded as having the stamp of Vedic authority. Thus reverence for the Vedas was made a cloak for the indulgence of views of all kinds. It is amusing to see the spasmodic fits of reverence that occur, for example, in the systems of Kapila and other philosophers, especially when they want to advance a theory or doctrine which is, on the face of it, anti-Vedic. The rationalism of Buddhism is perfectly consistent, whereas the rationalism of the six orthodox systems of philosophy is anything but open and straightforward. The history of Hindu religious thought has been throughout a history of such dubious compromises. Buddhism rendered the cultivation of logic and metaphysics absolutely indispensable, and in the six systems an attempt was made to enlist the aid of rationalism in the service of the Brahminical order. But this one thing is clear, that is in these systems of philosophy we find the authors not only addressing a select few, by means of enigmatical *sutras*, instead of the public at large, in plain simple language, but we find them also maintaining the authority of the Vedas without caring much for its doctrine and ritual.

There are certain features common to all the six systems of philosophy in spite of conflicting cosmological, metaphysical, and even religious doctrines advocated in them. One of these features we have just noticed, and that is a mere formal adherence to the authority of the Vedas. Another feature common to them is the doctrine that ignorance is the chief cause of bondage, the seed that produces the aggregate of miseries made up of everything perceptible. It is ignorance that conceives some things as its own, and other things as belonging to others; it is this ignorance that gives a fictitious reality to pleasures and pains. The soul's identifying itself with the body is also the result of ignorance. Good works as well as bad works contribute to bondage; so long as the soul misapprehends, desire and aversion constantly affect it, the doing good and evil are unavoidable to it, and it has no escape from the generation of births and deaths. Right apprehension is the sole remedy to free oneself from the fetters of both virtue and vice; and this right apprehension consists in the recognition by the soul itself as something distinct from the mind, the body, and all else. Good works such as sacrifice, alms, pilgrimage, repetition of sacred words, ascetic practices, &c., are no doubt recommended, and they are even required to be performed without hope of reward of any kind; but what is of far greater importance than good works for

the attainment of right apprehension is clearness of intellect. The Systematists, therefore, all agree in promising the final emancipation of the soul as the reward of intellectual labour. It is needless to point out here that the promise of emancipation to a mere knowledge of physics or metaphysics, arrived at by the high *priori* road, without any attempt at demonstrating the truth of the doctrines so reached, could have contributed very little either to the growth of the religious sentiment or to any real advancement in human science. The only real effect such a method could have produced was to foster a spirit of infidelity and of self-willed philosophy.

The trend of philosophic thought in India which led to the emphasis of knowledge is to a great extent the outcome of national characteristics, and a comparison between Indian and Greek systems of thought throws considerable light on the nature of the Indian intellect. In many respects the Greek intellect is the very antipodes of the Indian intellect. The Greek, alive to the varied charms of the world of the eye and the ear, absorbed in its occupations and pursuits, with his vivacious though not profound intellect, gave to the study of philosophy a practical turn. He distinguished himself as a statesman, as an orator, as an artist; he plunged himself into the busy scenes of life, and won fame and renown in the theatre of worldly success. The deepest problems of life and mind no doubt engaged his attention, but the investigation of these problems, was, as a rule, made subservient to the concerns of every-day life; his studies and activities were directed and determined not by any objective metaphysical interest, but by external consideration affecting Society. If a Socrates devotes himself to the philosophic instruction of the youth of Athens, it is because he is convinced of the need of a thorough amendment of the State; if the eager flight of the genius of a Plato makes him plunge into an idealism, which is thoroughly anti-Greek, he soon recollects himself and his surroundings, and condescends to enlighten us on political institutions, on the mode of teaching music and gymnastics; the selection of musical instruments, the arrangement of marriages &c., if an Aristotle, with his encyclopædia mind, gives us an elaborate study of life, psychical and physical, it is because he considers that the study of human perfection comes under the science of civic life, which is the master science, embracing the ends of all other sciences. The bent of the Hindu mind is in a

different direction. Insensible to external charms, and averse to what is considered to be the grovelling realities of sense and the common incidents of life, with his feelings chastened by a domineering intellectualism, the Hindu led a life of political inaction. His intellect did not allow him to rest content with the concerns of every-day life. Bent upon unfolding and expounding the deep meaning of the universe he had to fall back upon himself and make himself the subject of his study and meditation. Hence the sombre character of Hindu thought as compared with the Greek. Indian philosophy is emphatically subjective while Greek philosophy is more objective.

We have already noticed the part that the doctrine of metempsychosis has played in giving a stimulus to Indian philosophy, and how this doctrine is closely interwoven with the theory of the misery of life. The doctrine of emancipation we have referred to above presupposes the doctrine of metempsychosis and the theory of the misery of life. There is one aspect of Indian pessimism which has its bright side and which we should not fail to notice. When pessimism goes the length of regarding everything connected with life and its activities as evil, we must demur to its verdict, but when it leads people to think more about matters that concern the soul and its future then its influence is certainly beneficial, and Indian philosophy, in spite of the extremes to which it has gone in the matter of condemnation of the activities of the present life, must be regarded as having fostered a spirit of other-worldliness which has had its beneficial influence on Indian character. The Indian philosopher looked upon life only as an apprenticeship to a progressive renunciation. Fortune, glory, love, honour, wealth, happiness, long life are all delusions. Everything that appeals to the senses bears the traces of decay and evanescence. The world itself is but an allegory. The only real substance is the soul; for all the Systematists seem to have maintained that the soul has existed from everlasting and is exempt from liability to extinction. Everything else besides the soul is mere shadow, pretext, figure, symbol or dream. We might, therefore, well say that no nation, no people under the sun has had the future after death so constantly before their minds, has been so little wedded to this life and so intent on their emancipation from it as the Hindus; and it is this expectation of a revival of a life of misery, in body after body, in age after age, æon after æon, and the feverish yearning after some means of extrication from this black pros-

pect that has been the chief stimulus to Indian speculation, as well as to Indian spirituality.

As compared with Greek philosophy we notice an unprogressiveness in Indian philosophy. The later systems do not shew an advance over earlier systems; but what a vast difference there is between the Socratic system and that of the early Greek philosophers! And again how immensely more valuable are the philosophic speculations of Aristotle as compared with those of Socrates! Whence this progress? This is partly to be accounted for by the fact that the Indian philosophers cling tenaciously to metaphysics, whereas the Greek philosophers only ventured into the region of metaphysics by accident as it were. They found scope for their speculative powers in the region of the phenomena of mind which have to do with the positive and the real. Hence the valuable mass of psychological, ethical and logical facts and principles scattered throughout Greek philosophical literature. Another cause is the assiduity into which the Greeks tried to develop a method of philosophical enquiry. The great merit of the Socratic system consists in the development of the dialectic method which helped not only to transform art and literature but also to revolutionize social life; and even before Socrates, the Sophists laid the foundation of a strictly scientific method. The most valuable part of the writings of Plato and Aristotle refer to the subject of a scientific method of investigating philosophical problems. Hindu philosophers seem to have paid little attention to the subject of the development of a scientific method and to have relied more on dogmatism. Hence the unprogressive nature of their philosophy. But notwithstanding this defect, and notwithstanding the ontological nature of their philosophy, there is much in it that India may be proud of. The whole of Indian philosophy is a vehement protest against materialism. In it we find the boldest attempt made by the human mind to solve the mysterious problems of life and immortality. We may ignore Indian science as containing much that is crude and unscientific; we may even set aside Indian Drama, Indian Poetry and even Indian Didactic literature, as devoid of the indispensable requisites, but we dare not ignore Indian philosophy which offers something of interest to every thinking mind.

It is extremely difficult to fix the order in which the six Darsanas or schools of philosophy came into existence. The dates of the sutras or aphorisms, which constitute as it were the

texts of the six philosophies, though ascribed to definite authors, seem to have been a matter of growth to a great extent. Intrinsic evidence however seems to point to the Nyaya system, supposed to be founded by Goutama, as the first production of Brahminical philosophy, and along with the Nyaya the system that is known as the Vaishesheka, founded by Kanada, is usually conjoined, as there is much that is common between these two systems. The Nyaya is not so much a system of philosophy as an introduction to all such systems as it treats mainly of the objects and the laws of thought; but even in the Nyaya system metaphysics is the dominant motive. The founder of the system, Goutama, of whom little is known, may be regarded as the Aristotle of India, for he was the inventor of a syllogism, which though differing from the Aristotelian syllogism, based upon the *dictum de omni et nullo*, is yet virtually the same.* The subjects dealt with in the Nyaya system are such as the following :—The nature and order of discussion, the topics of discussion, the nature of proof or evidence and kinds of proof, cause and the development of inference as a method of proof, the objects of which a right knowledge may be gained. It is in the treatment of the last subject that the transition is effected from logic or rather epistemology to metaphysics. A right understanding of the nature of the soul constitutes the highest kind of knowledge, for it is this that leads to final deliverance or emancipation. Soul is distinct from mind, which is only an internal organ connected with the body ; and between the soul and body there is a vast gulf fixed, the latter being of the earth earthy, whilst the former is spiritual. It is as the fruit or retribution of deeds, good or bad, accomplished in former births that the soul incarnates in a body and becomes by this association the source of pleasure and pain. Everything connected with the body has the stamp of evil, and salvation which consists in deliverance from the body

* A complete syllogism in the Hindu system, consists of five members or parts (*avayana*): (1) proposition (*pratijna*), (2) the reason (*hetu or apadesa*), (3) the instance, or example (*udaharana* or *nidatsana*), (4) the application of the reason (*upanaya*) and (5) the conclusion (*nijamana*).

Ex. (1) This hill is fiery,
(2) For it smokes.
(3) Whatever smokes is fiery as a kitchen-hearth, &c.
(4) This hill is smoking,
(5) Therefore it is fiery.

If we confine the syllogism to the three last members it is the same as Aristotelian syllogism.

can only be attained by the soul by knowledge, by the soul meditating on itself, and not earning fresh merit or demerit through actions springing from desire, and by becoming free from passion through knowledge of the evil inherent in objects. The Nyaya system is not monistic, for it advocates the existence of not a single soul but of an infinite number of souls each having an eternal existence of its own. The Nyaya admits the existence of a Supreme Soul or God, the seat of eternal knowledge; but God is not the creator of these innumerable other souls as they have had like the Supreme Soul, a spontaneous existence and are not in any way subordinate to the will of God. The doctrine that God created all things by His infinite and inscrutable power is therefore alien to the Nyaya doctrine.

The Vaisheshika system, founded by Kanada, is merely supplementary to that of Goutama. This system also is mainly logical or rather epistemological, though the predominating motive is metaphysical. An elaborate treatment of categories or predicaments (padartha) forms a chief feature of this system. After dividing the category of substance into nine divisions—(1) earth, (2) water, (3) light, (4) air, (5) ether, (6) time, (7) space, (8) soul (atman), and (9) the internal organ, mind—Kanada states that the first four and the ninth are made up of atoms. It is in this connection that we find enunciated a theory of the origin of the material world which is deeply interesting as affording parallels to some of the old Greek systems. According to this system the material world is made of an aggregation of atoms (aṇus). They are round, extremely minute, invisible, incapable of division, eternal in themselves, but not in their aggregate forms. These atoms have individually specific qualities of their own. Light is produced from luminous atoms, air from ærial, water from aqueous atoms, and so on. They may combine by twos or by threes or by fours, &c., and their integration or disintegration is effected by an unseen peculiar force, *adrishta*. The nature of this unseen force *adrishta* is not quite clear. Some expound this to mean the Supreme Spirit who is declared to be the framer of all things. The material world, according to them, bears evidence of design. "The earth must have had a Maker," says a commentator, "because it is an effect like a jar," and hence the power that has brought about this effect must be of the nature of the Supreme Spirit. But such an interpretation is more in keeping with the Vedantic system

than with that of Kanada, for the latter denied the authority about Vedas ; and the argument from design has its root in the Vedas. The interpretation of *adrishta* as an unseen force, potentially inherent in the atoms themselves, will be more in keeping with the general trend of the Vaisheshika system.

The atomic theory of Kanada reminds us very much of that of Democritus, which Leucipnus had immortalized in verse. But we should not fail to notice the striking difference between the Indian and Greek theories. The difference comes in when we ask whether the atoms which are said to constitute the material world will account for soul. The atoms of Democritus, variously heavy and afloat in empty space, infringe on each other. There arises thus a wider and wider expanding movement through the general mass, and in consequence of this movement there take place the various complexions, like shaped atoms grouping themselves with like-shaped. According to Democritus even the soul is made up of atoms, but only the soul atoms are infinitely minute. Here we see the difference between the Indian and the Greek atomic theories. Whilst the latter makes atoms the source of existence in all its forms, physical and spiritual, the Indian theory looks upon the process which evolves pure spirit out of the ultimate particles of impure matter as perfectly absurd. Hindu philosophy always sets its face against materialism, and, in all its orthodox forms at least, affirms the eternal existence and incorruptible purity of the soul, in contradistinction to the impurity of matter.

If the Nyaya and the Vaisheshika are complementary systems and must be taken together, the Sankya and the Yoga in turn must be regarded as constituting one single system, for the Yoga is put forward to supplement what is wanting in the Sankya system. The founder of the Sankya system was Kapila of whom little is known of any historic value. The retrospective veneration of the followers of the Sankya has invested his name with a peculiar sacredness, for by some he is regarded as one of the seven great sons of Brahma, whilst by others he is regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu. He was a Brahmin who lived probably in the seventh or eighth century B. C. The system of Kapila, which is more metaphysical than that of Goutama or Kanada, has certainly had a more lasting influence on Indian thought than the other two systems. That its influence on

Indian thought, in spite of the fact that it was later on overshadowed by Vedantism, was very great, is seen from the common saying—*viz.*, "there is no knowledge like Sankya, and no power like Yoga." Apart from its position in relation to Indian thought, the system is of considerable historic value for "it is the earliest attempt on record to give answer, from reason alone, to the mysterious questions which arise in every thoughtful mind—the origin of the world, the nature and relations of man, and his future destiny." Strange to say this system, which, like the other systems, is regarded as orthodox and is supposed to be based on the authority of the Vedas, is commonly known as Niriswara or godless or atheistical, inasmuch as it did not recognize the existence of a Supreme Being, or the necessity for a divine revelation. Yet neither Kapila nor his system incurred the odium which fell to the lot of Buddha and his system, simply because Kapila and his followers in order to merely honour popular opinion professed to conform to the authority of the Vedas. The system if it had been universally adopted, would have been fatal to the development of Vedic ritual and sacerdotal supremacy, and hence the little hold that it has had on the masses, though, as a philosophical system, it continued to affect Hindu thought at all times very powerfully.

The term *Sankya* signifies *numeral*, implying its precision in the enumeration of first principles. It stands also for discriminative knowledge or judgment, for Kapila like other Hindu thinkers maintained the view that the true remedy for the perils of life is to be found in discriminative knowledge. We shall now consider some of the leading tenets of the Sankya system. In the *Sankya-Karika* or exposition of the Sankya, which is one of the oldest expositions of KAPILA'S system, we find given the sole purpose of philosophy. It is to relieve mankind from the suffering of pain which is of three kinds. The system of Kapila, like that of the other systems, is rooted in absolute pessimism. Everything connected with life is an evil and the final emancipation of the soul from the bondage of pain in all its forms can only be brought about by its becoming free from all contact with matter. But how is this emancipation to be effected? The answer is by discriminative knowledge. A knowledge of the Vedas leading to rituals—Kapila's system says distinctly—is not the knowledge that is meant; and a more emphatic repudiation of Vedic authority is not to be found even in Buddhism.

The knowledge wanted is the knowledge of philosophy as expounded in the Sankya which shows that the soul, the spiritual element in man, is really distinct from Prakriti and its products, including intelligence, mind and personality. The Sankya system is an uncompromising dualism. Two things are eternal, *viz.*, Matter in its primal form (Prakriti) and soul. Kapila's conception of Matter or Prakriti is wider than that of Descartes. Prakriti is not merely that which has extension and which appeals to the senses, but everything connected in function with sensuous objects such as intellect, consciousness, the knowledge of self as self,—all these partake of the nature of matter and as such are distinct from the soul. "The soul exists as a pure inward light without any instrumentation by which it can become cognisant of the external world. Mind and consciousness have nothing to do with the soul which is different from all material things. When finally separated from matter, including intellect and all the forms or emanations of Prakriti, it will have no object, and no function of thought. It will remain self-existent and isolated in a state of passive and eternal repose." The Sankya system is not only a dualism in so far as it lays down the reality of two distinct principles, *Prakriti* and *Soul*, it is a pluralism in so far as it recognizes the existence of individual souls, each of which is uncompounded and eternal, neither product nor producing. The orthodox Sankya system does not recognize a Supreme Soul over and above individual souls.

The most important part of the Sankya system is that relating to primordial matter from which all things, except soul have emanated. He points to the organic unity in nature as a proof of the common origin of its parts. The question naturally suggests itself: How can Nature with all its multitudinous effects be regarded as the outcome of primordial matter? The answer is that primordial matter is composed of three *gunas* or modes, and is inert when these are in equilibrium. The modes are endowed with a power of motion, like the atoms of Lucretius, and this constant motion produces different effects by the ever-varying proportion of their action.

Kapila's arguments for the existence of the soul or rather souls are very interesting. If Prakriti exists it must exist for something else and that must be the soul. If feelings and passions exist there must be a soul to which they must belong, they must have a superintending force. "As a charioteer guides a chariot

drawn by horses so the soul guides the body." The followers of Kapila fail to see the fatal nature of such an argument. If the soul is necessary because feelings, thought and will cannot have an existence apart from the soul to which they refer, soul in its turn cannot exist without feelings, thought a id will. Just as the one will be matter without form, the other will be form without matter; and the possibility of a soul, self-existent and isolated, in a state of passive and eternal repose, is an absurdity. The yearning which all feel for a higher life than that we can have in our present bodily state is also adduced as an argument for the existence of a soul. But the question is: Is this higher life possible in a state of pure passivity and abstract meditation?

The plurality or separate existence of souls is one of the main doctrines of the Sankya system, and this Kapila tries to establish by reference to the differences in the mental and moral constitutions of man, which constitute different personalities. This line of argument is fatal to the doctrine of the nature of the soul propounded by the Sankya system; for it goes against the view that the soul is entirely free from activity of all kinds and has no connection whatever with the body. The Vedantic doctrine is entirely different. It teaches that all souls are one, not because they belong to the same genus or class, but because they are portions of the One Spirit which is indeed the All. Kapila while enunciating clearly the existence of souls each limited by its union with the body, did not point to any Supreme Soul, which if it exists at all was to him beyond the comprehension of man, and is unknowable. In refusing, therefore, to admit that there is anything higher than the individual soul, he laid the foundation for a philosophical atheism based upon agnosticism. We cannot know God because he cannot be presented as an object to be seen in the *budhi*, that is comprehended by the intellect, which, in its turn, is completely dependent on the sensations that come from material things. The material universe, that is the various forms of matter, were evolved by the unconscious Prakriti (Nature) for the use of the soul, so that the soul may be able to gain a knowledge of material things and thus by contrast know itself as the means of final liberation from matter. The relation which the soul bears to nature is illustrated effectively by a comparison. Nature is compared to a blind man and the soul is compared to a lame man. Both of them will be helpless in a forest, but if they agree to help each other by the union of their powers, the blind man bearing the lame on his

shoulders, they may be able to escape from the jungle. Just as the lame man cannot walk or act without the aid of the legs of the blind man, so the soul needs nature or *prakriti* for its activities; and just as the blind man cannot be guided without the eyes of the lame man, so Prakriti needs the soul for its guidance. The soul however is totally distinct from Prakriti and all its emanations which include consciousness. Mind is not part of the soul, it is itself a form of matter, and yet the soul is often spoken of as that which contemplates but never acts. A devotee who shall attain by knowledge to a complete abstraction from everything external to himself can accomplish what he pleases: he may traverse all things by subtlety of Nature; may rise to colossal dimensions; may stand on the tops of the filaments of flowers; may rise to the solar sphere on a sunbeam, and may command the three worlds. It is strange that knowledge, which is itself dependent on the senses and is the outcome of Prakriti, should be the means of leading an individual to the emancipation of the soul, that is to a state in which knowledge of external things does not exist. Moreover, this knowledge which discriminates between matter and the soul, and which alone leads to soul emancipation is gained only by those who practise religious austerities. It does not necessarily lead to virtue or piety. Virtue and religion may do something by causing the attainment of a happier birth, but by knowledge only can the soul attain to its final liberation. When the soul gains the supreme knowledge it becomes independent of Nature and views Nature just as a spectator looks upon an action "By perfect knowledge the soul is freed from the influence of virtue and the rest, which are the cause of bodily existence in a higher or lower form. But for a time their influence may be felt, as a wheel will continue to revolve after the impulse which caused it to move has ceased. There is no longer any need of the activities of Nature when knowledge has freed the soul from all material conditions, and all things connected with this activity, such as virtue or love, will be known no more. The soul's perfect and final deliverance from the bondage of matter has been gained. No new character can be assumed; no birth into any kind of bodily state, even that of the gods can follow. The drama of life is ended and the actors retire from the stage for ever."

It will be seen therefore from the above brief account of the leading tenets of the Sankya system that it is essentially a philo-

sophy. If the belief in God is essential for religion, the system of Kapila being atheistical or rather agnostic allows of no room for such a belief. As the system of Kapila ignores a Supreme Being, it necessarily follows that its salvation or emancipation can be attained by human beings without the aid of any external power. If rites and ceremonies are necessary to constitute religious worship, Kapila rejected them with scorn. Prayer is also superfluous, for knowledge alone can accomplish more for the religious soul than all religious rites and ceremonies put together. If right conduct is considered essential for the attainment of salvation, in Kapila's system there is no provision made for duty or a sense of sin in failing to fulfil it. Virtue and vice are the results of material conditions. The soul not only rises above all moral influences, it is in itself neither virtuous nor wicked. The true sage rises above virtue and voice by his knowledge. The aim of philosophy is to cast off the vice and loathsome bondage of matter surrounding it. Life and its activities are all illusory, nay they are positive evils; and hence there is no incentive in this system to raise mankind to a higher degree of moral excellence or a more perfect civilization. The grandeur of the soul is no doubt emphasized but this grandeur, as has been pointed out, is unreal and useless. It has no moral elevation. It knows nothing of virtue and vice as connected with itself. It has no purpose beyond itself. It directs in some undefined degree, but it never condescends to work, either for itself or for others. It has no sympathy. Its highest state is one of perfect abstraction from matter and other souls; a self-contained life, wherein no breath of emotion ever breaks in on the placid surface.

The system of Yoga founded by Patanjali is regarded generally as the complement of the *Sankya* system, but the more correct way of looking at it would be to regard it as "*Sankya* modified, particularly in one point, namely in its attempt to develop and systematise an ascetic discipline by which concentration of thought could be attained and by admitting devotion to the Lord God as a part of that discipline." The *Sankya* attitude towards God was agnostic. Without denying the existence of Iswara, Kapila maintained merely that it is impossible for man, conditioned as he is, to know anything about the unconditioned—an attitude similar to that assumed by Hume and his school of thought; but Patanjali grafts on Kapila's teaching a belief in Iswara. The conclusion to which the *Sankya* system brings us

is that the emancipation of the soul is effected by right knowledge, the discrimination of the self from all that is not self. Patanjali went a step further and maintained that this knowledge itself can be acquired by ascetic practices. The *Yoga* system therefore contains minute and elaborate instructions for concentration of thought, which instructions later on took the form of torturing exercises which were condemned by Buddha as foolish and useless. Strictly speaking the *Yoga* system is not a philosophy, it is the art by which the philosophical teaching of Sankya is reduced to practice. It is the art of asceticism of almost all the prominent schools of Indian thought. We have already seen how a particular phase of the Upanishad teaching tended to encourage asceticism. In order to free the soul from all its bodily entanglements and from further migrations, some of the ancient sages required the practice of a never-failing inertion and abstraction, by a rigid and insecure posture, by apathy, vacuity and ecstacy. To bring about this result a man must renounce all ties, must repair to the solitude of the forest, must crush every desire and check every feeling and thought. It is this teaching which is elaborated and worked up into a system by Patanjali and his followers. It is on account of the influence of the *Yoga* system that asceticism has become an essential and inseparable feature of the practical developments of Hinduism.

A question has arisen as to whether a belief in a Supreme Godhead is an essential feature of the *Yoga* system. Rajendralal Mitra, a great authority on Hindu philosophy, says that "the leading tenets of the *yogins* are—first, that there is a Supreme Godhead who is purely spiritual or all soul, perfectly free from afflictions, works, deserts and desires. His symbol is Om, and He rewards those who are ardently devoted to Him by facilitating their attainment of liberation; but He does not directly grant it. Nor is He the father, creator, or protector of the Universe, with which he is absolutely unconnected." There are other critics, among whom Max Müller is one, who think that the belief in a personal God was by no means the most characteristic feature of Patanjali's system as it was understood at least at first. However this may be the system, as popularly understood, regards the belief in Iswara or God as forming an essential part of Yoga belief, so much so that Patanjali's system is commonly spoken of as *Sankya* with God. The existence of God, however, does not follow as a natural conclusion from the *Sankya* system of thought upon

which the *Yoga* system is supposed to be based. It is clear that the supposition of a God was simply a contrivance or stratagem resorted to for the purpose of meeting a popular demand rather than a necessity of the reasoning mind. Moreover the God postulated by Patanjali does not differ much from the soul as posited by Kapila. The soul in its reality is an entity, rather a non-entity, devoid of moral qualities as well as of natural properties, devoid therefore of all the characters by which alone existence can manifest itself. To use a *Yoga* definition of God: "God is a particular soul which is untouched by afflictions, works, deserts and desires."

The term *Yoga* comes from the root *Yuj* which means joining. Its object is therefore to bring about the conjunction of the individual with the supreme soul or God, the very object which all higher forms of Hindu religio ı have in view. The *Yoga* system agrees with the other forms of Hindu thought in holding that ignorance is the chief obstacle to this union, the cause of that bondage from which deliverance is to be desired. Ignorance begets egoism, from egoism proceed a longing for pleasure and a recoil from pain, which in turn give birth to a chain of transmigrations. How to get rid of this ignorance is the question. The means or accessories of *yoga* are *Yama* or restraint, the abstinence from gross sins and sinful disposition; *Niyama*, obligation, that is conformity to the commandments and ordinances of religion, which include a careful study of the Vedas; thirdly, *Asana*, posture which include minute and elaborate instructions given for a variety of bodily exercises; fourth, *Pranayama*, regulation or restraint of the breath; which consists of expiration, inspiration and retention of breath, according to fixed rules; fifth, *Pratyahava* abstraction, that is abstraction of the senses with a view to concentration on the thinking principle; sixth, *Dharana*, devotion, which includes exercises by which the thinking principle is confined to one place; seventh, *Dhyana* contemplation; lastly *Samadhi* or meditation in which the thinking principle loses its separate identity and becomes merged in the object of thought and thought itself.

We are not justified in regarding the many minute and elaborate instructions given in regard to postures, breathings, &c., as trivial and absurd. They seem to have been carefully devised so as to bring about a state of abstraction or concentration of the mind. Strange to say some of the *yoga* injunctions for concentration are the very injunctions that tend to induce a process of self-hypnotism.

There is strong evidence to shew that hypnotism in all its forms was known and practised in India from time immemorial. There cannot also be the slightest doubt that some marvellous results were obtained by the *yogis* who practised the exercises given in the *yoga* system; and we shall not be justified in treating these results as mere tricks any more than we shall be justified in treating the visions of S. Teresa or S. Francis as downright impositions. Later on the spiritual aspect of the *yoga* exercises seem to have been forgotten and they were utilized for developing extraordinary powers, for the *yogi* often appears as a juggler and necromancer in later Sanskrit poetry and drama. But according to Patanjali the main object of these exercises is to obtain union with God. How far a union with a mere phantom God, who is devoid of all qualities, constitutes a consummation which will satisfy man's highest spiritual cravings is one which we shall leave our readers to decide. One thing, however, is clear in the scheme of salvation sketched by the *yoga* system, which is in fact the scheme of all Hindu systems, and that is the entire elimination of moral strivings and the assumption that man by his own powers of concentration and meditation can attain the salvation required. It is true that abstinence from gross sins and sinful dispositions is put forward as a step in all schemes of salvation, but such schemes also take for granted that abstinence from virtuous deeds is also as great a necessity as abstinence from vicious acts.

III.—The Philosophical System of India.

We now come to the two systems of Hindu thought which are directly and ostensibly associated with the Veda, known as the *Purva* and the *Uttara Mimamsa*. The term *Mimamsa* means examination or investigation, and the words *Purva* and *Uttara* "prior" and "posterior," "antecedent" and "subsequent"; and hence in connection with the word *Mimamsa* the ideas they express are a prior and a posterior decision of the essential teachings of the Veda. The question as to whether the terms *Purva* and *Uttara* refer to priority of time is disputed; the more reasonable interpretation is that *Purva Mimamsa* is so called because it has to do with the *Karmakanda*, that is the first part of the Veda which has to do with works, and the *Uttara Mimamsa* is so termed because it has to do with the *Gnanakanda*, the second part of the Veda that has to do with knowledge. Throughout the history of Hinduism a distinction has been drawn between an exoteric form of religion suited to the masses, consisting of rituals and sacrifices, and an esoteric form suited to the wise and initiated, consisting of knowledge, pure and simple.

The reputed founder of the *Purva Mimamsa* was Jaimini about whom also very little of historical information is available. It is only by courtesy that the aphorisms or *sutras* attributed to Jaimini may be regarded as philosophical. Subjects such as the nature of the soul, the relation in which it stands to the non-ego or to the infinite, the sources of the bondage of the soul, and the way of its emancipation which find a prominent place in the other Dharsanas are all thrust into the background, and instead, the various kinds of rites and sacrifices, the duties and qualifications of those who practise these rites and sacrifices, the mystical syllables and words to be repeated, the hymns to be chanted, the incantations to be muttered are discussed in detail. There is a philosophy of a kind no doubt to be found here and there, for a great deal of close and accurate reasoning of a verbal nature is wasted on trivial questions, and there is also something said about the ultimate sources of knowledge, but taken as a whole the *Mimamsa sutras* are nothing but an encyclopaedic collection of aphorisms relating to rites and ceremonies. It is a noteworthy fact that throughout the history of Hinduism there has been a

remarkable development of ritualistic religion side by side with the development of philosophic thought bearing on the highest questions of religion. Though the *Purva Mimamsa* is of very little value as a repository of philosophic thought, still it is of utmost interest as a picture of an age of ritualistic fervour, brought on by a reaction against speculations of the wildest sort.

The eternity of the Vedas is one of the peculiar doctrines of the *Purva Mimamsa*, and closely connected with this doctrine is the doctrine of the eternity of sound. Elaborate arguments are put forward to establish the eternity of the Vedas into which it is unnecessary to enter here. The great object of the *Mimamsa* philosophy is, however, the knowledge or ascertainment of duty, its watchword being "Duty—inquisitiveness," in contradistinction to "Brahma—inquisitiveness," the watchword of the Vedanta school. In fact the gospel of deeds is so prominently developed as to thrust even God into the background. "The subject which most engages attention throughout the Mimamsa," says Colebrooke "is the invisible and spiritual operation of an act of merit. The action ceases, yet the consequence does not immediately ensue. A virtue meantime subsists unseen, but efficacious to connect the consequence with its past and remote cause, and to bring about at a distant period, or in another world, the relative effect." Though this mysterious potency is acknowledged in almost all schools of Indian philosophy, as it forms the basis of the doctrine of karma, still it is the characteristic feature of Buddhism, to which the *Mimamsa* is favourable in some respects and hostile in others. The *Mimamsa*, like Buddhism, throws God and His worship into the background and renders His existence superfluous by maintaining the efficacy of works, if not its creative power. Like Buddhism the *Mimamsa* maintains the eternity of the world or rather its successive evolutions and involutions in cycles, beginningless and endless. But there is this great difference, while Buddhism declares a war of extermination against the doctrine of sacrifice, the *Mimamsa* gives the greatest prominence to it—upholds, enjoins, and exalts it in varieties of ways, through varieties of express declarations and by varieties of laudations of which it is made the favoured name.

We now come to the consideration of the last and most important school of philosophy known as the Uttara Mimamsa, or more commonly as the Vedanta. The reputed founder of the system is Badarayana, who has been identified without sufficient

evidence with Vyasa, the compiler of the great Indian epic, the Mahabharatha. It is difficult to fix the age of the Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana; but competent critics regard them as being earlier in origin than the Bhagavad-Gita. Though it is in the Vedanta Sutras that an attempt is made for the first time to give a systematic exposition of Vedantic ideas, still there can be little doubt that the main principles of this philosophy are to be met with in the Upanishads. Of all the systems of philosophic thought the most distinctly Indian is the Vedanta. Vedanta is clearly the native philosophy of India. It is this that has given a marked individuality to Hindu religious thought; and it is this system that holds sway even to this day in the mind and heart of every thoughtful Hindu. It may be too much to say that the leading tenets of the Vedanta are known in every village; but there is much truth in the remark of Max Müller that "the spirit of Vedantism is breathed by every Hindu from his earliest youth and pervades in various forms the prayers even of the idolators, the speculations of the philosopher, and the proverbs of the beggar."

The fundamental doctrines of the Vedanta, as we have seen, are foreshadowed though not in a systematic form in the Upanishads, but it is only in the Vedanta Sutras of Badarayana we find that the philosophic speculations which exist more or less as only poetical rhapsodies in the Upanishads are worked out into a carefully reasoned system. As in the Upanishads so also in the Vedanta Sutras the search after Brahman is the task set before us. According to both the Upanishads and the Vedanta: "There is nothing worth gaining, there is nothing worth enjoying, there is nothing worth knowing, but Brahman alone, for he who knows Brahman is Brahman."

The subject-matter, the essence of Vedantism, is to be found in those famous words *Tat tvam asi*, 'That art Thou,' which asserts the identity of the individual soul (Jeevatma) with the Supreme Spirit (Paramatman)—This is the boldest synthesis in the whole history of Philosophy. The Vedantists hold that though from an empirical point of view individual souls appear to be finite and limited in every possible relation, yet from the transcendental point of view they are no other than the Supreme Spirit, appearing under the conditions of space and time, and that when these conditions are eliminated as non-essential, we shall be brought face to face with the

ultimate unity, the indivisible infinitude of reality. To maintain the eternal identity of the human and the divine is the essence of the Vedanta doctrine, and in striving to resuscitate the identity of the *Tat* and the *Tvam*, the teachers of the Vedanta, as a European scholar puts it, "seem to be moving in the most serene atmosphere of thought and in their stiff and algebraic Sutras were working out their mighty problems with unfaltering love of truth and in an unimpassioned and truly philosophic spirit."

Ekam Eva advitiyam, "There is but one Being, no second" is another form of the famous *Tat Tvam asi* and is often resorted to as the motto of present day Indian Theists. "Nothing really exists but the one impersonal spirit, called Atma or Brahma. From him is every thing born, in him it breathes; in him it is dissolved. He, in the illusion that overspread him, is to the external world what yarn is to cloth, what milk is to curds, what day to a year; but only in that illusion. As water contained in various vessels and as the sun reflected on various mirrors is one but apparently many, so is the spirit one and many. As the potter by the help of clay makes a pot, so the spirit itself causes its various births. As an actor paints his body with colours and assumes various forms, so the spirit assumes the bodies caused by its deeds. This eternal impersonal Atma or Brahma is absolutely One (unlike the Sankya spirit or Purusha, which is multitudinous); yet it is made up of a trinity of co-eternal essences—to wit, pure unconscious Existence (sat), pure Thought (chit) a ıd pure Bliss (ananda)."

The Vedas, we are told, bear evidence to the existence of Brahman, the Supreme Spirit. Evidently the reference is to the great cosmogonic hymn x. 129, which contains more than in germ the substance of later Brahmanic philosophical treatises, but though the primary evidence for the existence and nature of Brahman is furnished by the Vedas, it is necessary for reason to follow up the trail and develop the Scripture truth showing its connexion and consonance with its independent conclusions. The existence of the soul is evidenced by self-intuition. As a Vedantic writer puts it, it is as absurd for a person to deny the existence of the self, as to declare with his own tongue that he has no tongue, for the very fact of denial contradicts the denial. Having established the existence of Brahman and Atman (the self), the Vedanta next proceeds to consider the relation between the

two. Brahman, the Vedantists maintain is the sole reality of the world and the individual souls have no existence apart from Him; they exist in so far as they participate in His reality, and in so far as they appear to be diverse they are ultimately unreal. The apparent diversity of object has no better than a phenomenal existence, it is the offspring of Maya or the multiplying power of Brahman which opens out an infinite series of names and forms, which cling round the substratum of reality so to say, give rise to a panorama of the universe, to the diversity of things which we experience all around.

The true nature of Maya, which combining with Brahman, gives rise to the illusory diversity of things, has been subjected to a great deal of controversy, and is still the most perplexing point in Vedantism. Some regard it as an independent power of illusion. If this is so, Vedantism ceases to be monism and becomes dualism. Others look on it as a *Sakti* or power appertaining to Brahman himself. If this is so, it contradicts the doctrine of the characterlessness of the Brahman. Further, if Maya formed part and parcel of the nature of Brahman, how can the product of Brahman and Maya be regarded as unreal and illusory?

We hear a great deal in these days about "Higher Hinduism." Higher Hinduism is nothing but Vedantism, which is but pure spiritual Pantheism. It is the outcome of the unquenchable craving in man to find the one in the many, and the quintessence of the system has been admirably summed up in these words:—"Brahman is true, the world is false, the soul is Brahman and nothing else." There is something very fascinating in Vedantism as there is in all monistic theories, for the goal of human thought has been always to discover an ultimate principle of unity which binds "all thinking things, all objects of all thought," which gives coherence and relatedness to the varying experiences of mankind and constitutes as it were "the geometrical point through which pass all the threads which make up the web of possible experience." Such a unity is what Plato tried to discover in the idea of God, the highest Idea, which according to him unifies into a harmonious whole the manifold experiences; this is the unity which the Eleatics tried to discover in the abstract conception of Being, which excludes all thinking; this is also the principle which Spinoza thought he had discovered in his Infinite Substance; and this is also the principle which Hegel tried to formulate when he

said that the actual was the rational. Vedantism professes to have found this principle in Brahman and the question is whether Brahman can be regarded as the ultimate principle of intelligence which gives coherence and relatedness to the manifold, experience. We are told that Brahman is the Source and Substance of everything, the underlying essence of which the visible universe and gods and men are merely manifestations; and yet when we ask what are the essential characteristics of Brahman we are told that it is entirely destitute of qualities; it is an empty, indeterminate abstract Being without form and limit, which is "not to be seen with the eye, nor heard with the ear, from which the mind falls back abashed," and which can only be described by negatives *Nêti! nêti! not this, not this.* We must of course admit the step in advance in religious and philosophic thought which identifies the Supreme Being, the ultimate principle of unity with the thought of infinitude and of opposition to all limited worldly existence, but in the Vedantic speculation as in the Eleatic, the infinite is conceived in a one-sided negative way, not as the positive ground which produces and maintains the finite. "The Brahman of the Vedanta philosophy, like the *one* infinite Being of Parmenides, is like the cave of the lion, into which all the footsteps lead, but none lead out again. If the true is only the most abstract distinctionless and changeless Being, then the world of manifold and changeable existence is an untrue appearance, a delusion of Maya, which indeed becomes the more inconceivable, seeing that the subject and its consciousness—for which the appearance of the manifold and changeable exist—has itself also but an apparent existence like everything else. Thus does the Pantheism of the absolute substance show itself as Akosmism, and ultimately as absolute Illusionism. As in this infinite there disappear with all other distinctions also the distinctions of true and false, of weal and woe, of good and bad, the religious disposition can here only consist in indolent brooding over the nothingness of existence, in indifference to all the interests of life, and finally in the extinguishing of the living will itself."

Hindu thinkers have tried to find a parallelism between Vedantism and the various monistic theories of the West, and some are even of the opinion that the pantheistic theories of the West owe their stimulus and inspiration to Hindu thought directly or indirectly. There is a vast difference between Eastern and Western Pantheism. The only system of Western thought which

bears any resemblance to the Pantheism of the Vedanta is the Eleatic philosophy, for the abstract unity of Parmenides is as empty and indeterminate as the Vedantic Brahman. Plato found his principle of unity in the Idea of God, but he emphasized the fact that God's essential being is the good, and that He is as much the ground of justice in the moral world as of truth and beauty in the natural world, it was a synthesis of the good and true which comes out in full depth and clear consciousness in Jesus' Idea of God. Spinoza taught that God is the only independent self-existing Being or the absolute substance which presents itself to our thinking under the two fundamental forms of reality,—as thinking and extension, and out of which all things and souls proceed with purposeless necessity as the finite modes of the manifestation of its infinite being. Here no doubt the reality of the finite is merged in the one substance of the infinite, but unlike in Vedantism the finite is not set aside as illusory, it is as real as the infinite because it proceeds from it by a causal necessity. Between Hegel's principle of unity and the Vedantic Brahman there is also the greatest difference, for though Hegel's principle is also *thought* still it is a principle which has no reality apart from the world of individual experience.

Another great defect in the Vedantic conception of God is that it is impersonal. It has been well said that the radical difference between the ultimate principles of Vedantism and Christianity centres in the idea of personality. "The difference of view upon this one question causes the two systems to diverge from each other through their whole course. It affects the doctrine of the nature and existence of God, of the nature of man, of the state after death, and the entire treatment of morality." There are usually two reasons given by the Vedantist for conceiving God as impersonal. One is that the Impersonal is a much higher generalization than the Personal. In order to solve this question we have to enquire into the relation in which God or the Supreme Spirit stands to Nature. If, as the pantheistic view asserts, God is immanent in Nature, He must have qualities which are in keeping with the highest manifestation in Nature, that is man whose crowning feature is mind, but the characteristic of mind is that it is both subject and object at once, it is capable of becoming its own object and saying "I am I." It is through this power of self-consciousness, or self-disremption that spirit transcends

matter." If, therefore, depending on personal experience, we have to frame a conception of God we must conceive of Him as at once transcending and immanent in nature, we must regard Him as personal Spirit which infinitely transcends the material order and indwells it the while.

The other objection which the Vedantist has for conceiving God as personal is that such a conception will destroy his unity; for self-consciousness, the recognition of "I" as "I" implies the recognition of something which is not "I," but the Vedantist's idea of unity is erroneous. It is a self-identic unity which within itself comprehends nothing, and without itself excludes nothing, and besides which nothing else is, but the strictest unity of which we have any experience is human personality, which is not bare unit, having no variety within itself and no relationship to any difference outside itself. Perfect unity is possible only where there is room for variety and hence the Christian doctrine of Trinity is "the most philosophical attempt to conceive God as personal."

Having considered briefly the different systems of Hindu Philosophic thought it is necessary to note briefly the influence of Buddhism in order to understand the development of both popular and philosophic Hinduism. Though Buddhism never took root in India still its influence on Hinduism has been very considerable. The founder of the religion, called Siddhartha according to tradition, though commonly known as Buddha, or the enlightened, laid the foundation of a new religion towards the close of the sixth century B. C. Buddhism is commonly viewed as a reaction against Brahmanism, and the points of antagonism between the two forms of religion no doubt tend to support this view, but Buddhism may also be viewed from one point of view as an outgrowth of Brahmanism, and its scope and influence cannot be considered properly unless this its two-fold relationship to Brahmanism is clearly understood. One of the corner stones of Buddhism is the dogma of the transmigration of the soul which is Brahmanic in origin. Like the followers of Brahmanism, Buddhists also seek deliverance from the endless succession of rebirths, and the same contempt for finite existence and the feeble idea of the personality of man which are the characteristic features of Brahmanism are to be met with in Buddhism. There are of course points of antagonism as well, and from the point of view of these antagonisms, Buddhism may be regarded as occupying

the same relation to Brahmanism that primitive Christianity bore to the Jewish hierarchy. Primitive Buddhism ignored religion and rejected the authority of the Veda, the whole dogmatic system of the Brahmans, their worship, penance and hierarchy, and substituted for them a higher moral teaching. It was at the commencement a purely ethical revolution, and it was only later on, about the middle of the third century of our era, when the mighty personality of the founder exerted its influence, and Buddha began to be worshipped as a God that it became popular as a religion. The simple teaching of the Master, which was chiefly ethical in character, became encrusted with formalism. Monasteries sprang up everywhere, orders of mendicants were established and missionaries were sent from place to place. With the reign of Asoka the religion became even more popular, for he raised it to the position of a State religion. The religion enjoyed its golden days in India, whilst the dynasty of Chandragupta was on the throne till 178 B.C., but after that an era of persecution began, Brahmanism came into conflict with Buddhism and the struggle lasted till the fourth century A.D., and then it rapidly declined.

The chief features of primitive Buddhism are the absence of any theological element and an aversion to pure speculation. Buddhism is atheistic in that it does not recognize a God upon whom man is dependent; Buddha in fact avoids all questions relating to real existence. The problem of suffering is the one which is made the chief object of study. Buddha starts with the assumption that to exist is to suffer. The vanity of all existence is the starting point of Buddhistic teaching. The cause of pain and suffering is to be found in desire which increases with gratification. Cessation of pain is possible only by the suppression of desire, and the way to this suppression is the knowledge and observance of the good law. Buddhism rejects the doctrine of salvation by works, it rejects outward works or theological knowledge as marks of holiness, and seeks it in gentleness, in purity of heart and life, in mercy and self-denying love for a neighbour. It repudiates caste in all its forms. A life of purity and love will make even the lowest Chandala a man of high morality. The social element is also strong in Buddhism. If the ideal of Brahmanism was that of a hermit selfishly seeking his own redemption, the ideal of a Buddhist is a monk, who is the member of a brotherhood striving to save others, but the

salvation consists in reaching a stage in which all individuality disappears. It is ignorance that makes us take for real what is illusory. The objects which we see have no objective reality. Everything is a flux of aggregates which are interminably uniting and disuniting, an immense flood of which we do not seek to know the beginning, and from which we can escape only by *Nirvana.*

The doctrine of *Nirvana* is not entirely the product of Buddhism There was a doctrine of *Nirvana* which was also to be found in Vedantism. *Nirvana,* from both the Buddhistic and Brahmanic standpoint, is the condition reached by the soul that has crucified Karma by renouncing the desire for individual existence, but whilst Buddhism stops short of the negative side of the doctrine of *Nirvana,* which is merely the cessation of the striving for individual existence, philosophic Brahmanism views it in its positive side as absorption into, and identification with the blessed life of Brahman itself. In other words, Buddhism emphasizes the deliverance which is effected in *Nirvana* as little more than the negation of existence, while philosophic Brahmanism regards it as the realization of a man's Atman, his true and infinite self. Rhys Davids, following the Buddhistic interpretation. represents the *Nirvana* of Buddhism as simply extinction, while Deussen speaking from the point of view of earlier Brahmanistic conceptions, represents it as the realization on the part of the infinite of "its own all-pervading, eternal, almighty nature."

Though Buddhism has certain points of affinity with Hinduism as that of antagonism, still in its essential aspects it was a revolution. The chief practices of Brahmanism were sacrifice and ascetic penance. Buddhism repudiated both. Brahmanism held to an absolute All One, Brahma, and to a Self which is It. In the place of a dethroned Absolute, Buddhism set up ceaseless change nor did it recognize the existence of a self, or any imperishable entity in man. With rather an Absolute nor God, man had nothing to rely on but himself. Each man must save himself. He was his own lord and refuge in a world of change and death, and wherein was nothing worth. "Rouse thyself by thyself; examine thyself by thyself; for self is the lord of self." With this view the Hindu mood of pain at transitoriness became intensified and widened to include all life. The Buddhistic doctrine is that all life is suffering. Life to

Buddha was very painful; release from its suffering was the goal and purpose of the way which he set before men.

The practical ethics of Buddhism has features in common with Brahmanism; the principle of sin as Christians understand it—the transgressing the will of a Supreme Being—is as much absent in it as it is in Brahmanism. In the latter all is law. The source of all wrongful conduct consists in clinging to existence; and yet strange to say Buddhism lays stress on the virtue of benevolence, ignoring the fact that love and benevolence can have no scope in the absence of the very thing forbidden by Buddhism, *viz.*, real attachment and caring for another. The precepts of Buddhism are more negative than positive; but the precepts inculcating the positive virtue of charity and benevolence towards all living beings are noteworthy; but the most advanced stage of holiness, to which good deeds are pre-essential, is self-centred meditation, fortified with knowledge of the impermanence of all things and crowning watchfulness over temptations of sense. "Great is the fruit, great the advantage of earnest contemplation, when set round with upright conduct. Great is the fruit, great the advantage of intellect when set round with earnest contemplation. The mind set round with intelligence is freed from great evils, from sensuality, from individuality, from delusion and from ignorance." There was one element in Buddhism which gave it a universal aspect and that was its repudiation of caste. Recognizing no castes, it held itself fit for acceptance beyond the path of Indian society. In broad, enlightened spiritual mood, early Buddhistic writings refute the ethical efficacy of birth or form or ceremony. Though there is much that is admirable in Buddhism, still the attainment of Nirvana as the goal of salvation is the very thing that stamps it with the mark of imperfection. The following able criticism by an American scholar is worth noting:—

"Man cannot live by bread alone, neither shall he by starvation. There is no virtue in pointless renunciation, and no sure attainment in renunciation misdirected towards an end impossible and unreal. Not human life alone, but all life is a process of differentiation and development of individuals. Individuality is the basis of human completion, and must fulfil itself through acts and desires, love and attachment, and yearnings manifold, with all the pain connected with the apparently transient state in which the individual lives on earth. And in conceptions of eternal life be-

yond, unmerged individuality must subsist if there shall be continuance and perfecting of the highest conceivable elements of being. India, in Brahmanism, then with more open eye in Buddhism, abandoned as worthless, or as painful, the content of men's lives on earth ; then, scorning individuality as the veriest mode of change and death, it abandoned the existence of the human individual, the basis of all life, the only means whereby that which transcends the human individual may be reached. Man cannot gain God unless man continue to exist himself. Indian thought reaches not conclusions, but catastrophy. The Absolute All—One—Brahma and the Atma which was It,—was the first leap into the voice ; the second was Nirvana."

The almost total extinction of Buddhism in the country of its birth where it had all the influential support that any national religion could have has puzzled students of religious history. Buddhism no doubt had a formidable opponent in Brahmanism, and the followers of the former creed were subjected to persecution at the hands of Brahmanism, but this cause does not account fully for the failure of Buddhism to take root in India. Barth's conclusion seems to be the right one. He points out that Buddhism became extinct from sheer exhaustion and that in its own inherent defects we must seek for the causes of its disappearance. In its denial of the supernatural, in its placing before its followers an ideal too abstract, in its morbid way of laying down and resolving the problem of life, the germs of weakness are to be found. On the other hand Brahmanism availed itself of new methods in attacking its rival. Over against the personality of Buddha Brahmanism set up figures, less perfect doubtless, but quite as capable of stirring up a passionate devotion of legendary deities, such as Mahadeva, Krishna, Rama ; the older religion appealed to the senses with their temples, their images, their pompous and stagy festivals ; it also availed itself of mythological tradition and popular poetry to attract its votaries. Though Buddhism was practically exterminated it was not without its effects on Hinduism. In the epic and puranic literature of Hinduism, we notice accents of an ardent charity, of a compassion, a tenderness, and a humility at once sweet and plaintive, which ever and anon suggest the action of Christian influences, and which, in any case, contrast singularly with the pride and want of feeling—fruits of the spirit of caste—with which that literature is nevertheless replete. In the gradual discontinuance of sacrifice to the

advantage of almsgivings and pious deeds we also notice the influence of Buddhism.

A religion closely allied to Buddhism, but which like Buddhism was also a protest against Brahmanism, is Jainism. Very little is known about the origin and historic development of this creed. The Jainas themselves regard it as older than Buddhism, but in the absence of any canonical works belonging to the early period of its history it is difficult to settle the question of chronology. There are many features common to Buddhism and Jainism. Like Buddhists, the Jainas reject the authority of the Vedas, and like Buddhists, the Jainas are also atheists. They do not believe in a creator, for they deny the possibility of a perfect being from all eternity. The world is eternal. All beings are divided into animate and inanimate. Animate beings are composed of a soul and a body, and their souls being radically distinct from matter, are eternal. In this point of view Buddhism differs from Jainism and agrees with the Sankhya system. As in the Sankhya conception so in Jainism, the soul is regarded as pure intelligence but it is nevertheless a prey to illusion and condemned on that account to submit to the yoke of matter through an infinite succession of existences. Therefore, with the Jainas it is not so much the fact of existence which is the evil, it is life itself which is bad, and Nirvana is with them, not the annihilation of the soul, but rather its deliverance and its entry into a blessedness that has no end. The way to Nirvana is naturally revealed by the Jaina. The Jaina is an eminent ascetic who had conquered all the desires of sense and had raised himself above the Gods, Mahavira, who is supposed to be the founder of the religion, being the most celebrated among them. The ethics of Jainism also resembles Buddhism closely. The development of the "perfect conduct" is the exact counterpart of the moral teaching and discipline of Buddhism. The Jainas are divided into two bodies, those dressed in white robe (*Svetambara*), and the naked (*Digambara*) *i.e.*, sky-clad or "persons robed in air," though the latter lay aside their dress only at meals. The Digambaras agree with the Buddhists in maintaining that women have not the capacity of attaining Nirvana, while the Svetambaras teach that they have. They divide themselves into clergy and laymen, they reduce their laws to a few leading commands, they impose confession on the believer as the preliminary to obtain priestly absolution, and every year they keep a solemn feast.

It is noteworthy that whilst Brahmanism had succeeded in exterminating Buddhism, it has not succeeded in getting rid of Jainism, this is because Jainism in practice conformed itself to popular Brahmanism in the matter of worship of idols. We have said that the Jainas are the followers of Jaina, the "Victorious," and that a Jaina is a sage who has reached omniscience and who comes to re-establish the law in its purity when it has become corrupted among men. They have twenty-four of these Jainas who are said to have succeeded each other at immense intervals of time. Like Buddhas. the Jainas also become veritable deities and the direct objects of worship. They have at their side goddesses who execute their commands. Their images which are at times colossal are worshipped. In this matter the influence of Hinduism is very *prominent*. Like the Buddhists the Jainas were at first not disposed to tolerate the existence of a sacerdotal caste, but later on they began to respect the Brahmanic caste, so much so that in some of their communities the Brahmins are recruited from certain families in preference to others. They even go so far as to observe the rules of caste among themselves though they profess not to attach any religious significance to them. They appear to have taken a more active part in the literary and scientific life of India.

IV.—Post Buddhistic Hinduism.

The almost total extinction of Buddhism in the country of its birth, where it had all the influential support that any national religion could have, has puzzled students of religious history. Buddhism had no doubt a formidable opponent in Brahmanism, and the followers of the former creed were subjected to persecution at the hands of the Brahmans, but this alone does not account fully for the failure of Buddhism to take root in India. Barth's conclusion seems to be the right one. He points out that Buddhism became extinct from sheer exhaustion and that we must seek for the causes of its disappearance in its own inherent defects. The germs of weakness are to be found in its denial of the supernatural, in its morbid way of laying down and resolving the problem of life, in its placing before its followers an ideal too abstract, and above all in its failure to satisfy the instinctive craving for a personal God, which Brahmanism has tried to do by means of compromises. Buddhism, however, has not been without its influence on Brahmanism. It is to Buddhistic influence we must ascribe the discontinuance of sacrifices to the advantage of almsgivings and pious deeds; and to the same influence must also be traced the accents of ardent charity, of pity, humility and compassion which make themselves heard in the epic and puranic literature of India, though this literature is replete all the same with the pride and arrogance which are the direct results of the spirit of caste.

Brahmanism availed itself of new methods in attacking its rival. Over against the sublime personality of Buddha Brahmanism set up figures less perfect doubtless, but quite as capable of stirring up passionate devotion. They also utilized all the available sources of mythological tradition and popular poetry to enlist votaries for new deities, such as Mahadeva, Krishna and Rama. In order to counteract the influence of the rich literature of the Buddhists, the Puranas were composed and were placed on the same footing as the Vedas as regards antiquity, though none of them were composed till after the eighth century A. D. The two great epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, in which the ancient gods transformed into heroes, lived and moved as human beings on the earth, were also made the vehicles of the

particular theologies of the worshippers of Vishnu and Siva. The Brahmans were not merely content with exterminating Buddhism, they also endeavoured to alter and modify their somewhat abstract creed into something which would satisfy the popular mind. Without giving up their doctrinal system and their hierarchy, without letting go the authority of the Veda or abandoning the esoteric teaching that was common property in the pre-Buddhistic period, they tried to supply a new basis for their hierarchy by combining their own doctrine with the prevailing popular belief, in whatever form it appeared, and thus succeeded in gaining the adherence of various sects. The system of castes which had taken root already, also helped to further this complex development of Hinduism. When we remember that Hinduism has carried on a process of adaptation for centuries together borrowing and assimilating something from every form of belief it has come into contact with, when we remember that like a "vast hospitable mansion it has opened its doors to all comers, and has not refused a welcome to applicants of every grade from the highest to the lowest, if only willing to acknowledge the spiritual headship of the Brahmans and adopting caste rules," the difficulty of defining Hinduism will be made clear. As Barth puts it, diversity is the very essence of Hinduism and its proper manifestation is "sect,"—sect in constant mobility, and reduced to such a state of division that nothing similar to it was ever seen in any other religious system.

One chief feature of pre-Buddhistic Brahmanism was the worship of certain new divinities exalted above all the rest which were conceived as personal. Among these the two that receive the highest homage were Siva and Vishnu. Siva, which means "Gracious," is the euphemistic name of Rudra, the storm-god of the Vedas, but in later Hinduism the violent and dreadful side of his nature becomes emphasized in preference to his beneficence which characterises him in the hymns of the Rig Vedas. He is therefore more frequently associated with Agni, Fire, and conceived as an element of destruction, the impersonation of the dissolving and disintegrating powers and processes of nature. With the advance of time the plasticity and all-comprehensiveness of his Godhead increases. He is the God of fruitfulness and is often invoked as the master of life and death, as creator, and for this reason he is generally worshipped under the symbol of the power of propagation, the

lingam. Siva appears with all the characteristics of a deity of a purely popular origin in vital relation to all the aspects of Indian life. He is the patron of craftsmen and hunters, of merchants; he is the war-God whose cry is heard in the battle and whose voice resounds in the war-drums. He is also the patron of thieves and robbers. He is to be found everywhere; in fields, in rivers and trees, but his favourite dwelling place is in lonely forests and mountains. It is noteworthy that with the increasing tendency to exalt Siva to the highest pinnacle in the Hindu pantheon, there is noticeable the tendency to intensify his purely human character and to multiply his degrading qualities. Various foreign elements, such as the worship of serpents and spirits become connected with Siva worship, and altogether the mixed character of the cultus shews that the Siva of the period arose out of the fusion of the Agni-Rudra of the Vedas with a deity of non-Aryan origin—yet another striking instance of the way Brahmanism has enlarged its borders so as to conciliate and bring within its influence all classes of the population of India. The consort of Siva known under various names combines in her person the same conflicting characteristics as Siva. As an ancient fire goddess she is marked by her self-renouncing piety; as Uma she is the "mother" and the "protectress;" as Kali-durga she is the goddess of death, horrible in shape, worshipped with bloody sacrifices. In the Hindu pantheon she takes a much more prominent place than all the other goddesses, whose qualities and names are quietly transferred to her. As might be expected so great a variety of the God Siva's character leads to a corresponding variety in the sects which are addicted to his worship, and even in the days of Sankaracharya, the great Hindu reformer of the eighth century A. D., several Siva sects existed. In modern times the Siva sectarians profess to follow Siva chiefly in his character of an ascetic and practice severe austerities and bodily mortifications. There are several classes of these ascetics known as Saiva Sanyasis. Siva worship as practised in the temples of India at the present day consists of idolatrous ceremonies of the most puerile nature.

Saktism, the worship of the goddess of energy, is closely connected with Siva worship, for it is connected chiefly with the adoration of Sita's wife, Parvati, as the source of every kind of supernatural powers. It has its origin in the idea that God has a dual nature, partly male and partly female, and this idea is said to have its support in the Vedas, where the universe is conceived as having

proceeded from a female principle brought into union with a male. Whether there is Vedic sanction for such a conception or not, it is clear that the Brahmanas clearly enunciate the duality of the divine nature. For example, in the Satapatha Brahmana we read as follows:—"The One Being did not enjoy happiness when alone. He was desirous of a second. He divided himself into two. Hence were husband and wife produced. Therefore was this (second) only a half of himself as the half of a split pea is." Then it goes on to say how all beings were produced by the union of the divine male and divine female. There is a special "sacred" literature devoted to Saktism known as the Tantras, and they are supposed to have the same sanctity as the Puranas which may be regarded as the Bible of Sivaism and Vaishnavism. In the tenets and rites of one form of Saktism there is a sickening exhibition of the vilest passions of man, which, strange to say, receive at the hands of the metaphysicians a mystic, spiritual meaning. The rites connected with the Paphian goddess, grossly immoral as they were, pale into insignificance when compared with the elaborate ritual of a certain class of Saktas. The Sakta form of Hinduism has a vast mythological personnel of its own, and the number of female deities worshipped constitute a distinct class in the Hindu pantheon. Speaking of Saktism, Monier Williams writes:—"It might have been expected that a creed like this, which admits of an infinite multiplication of female deities, and makes every woman an object of worship, would be likely to degenerate into various forms of licentiousness on the one hand and of witchcraft on the other. But if such consequences might have been anticipated, the actual fact has been worse than the most gloomy pessimist could possibly have foretold. In Saktism we are confronted with the worst results of the worst superstitious ideas that have ever disgraced and degraded the human race. It is by offering to women the so-called homage of sensual love and carnal passion, and by yielding free course to all the grosser appetites, wholly regardless of social rules and restrictions, that the worshippers of the female power (Sakti) in Nature seek to gratify the goddess representing that power, and through her aid to acquire supernatural faculties, and even ultimately to obtain union with the Supreme Being. Incredible as it may appear, these so-called worshippers actually affect to pride themselves on their debasing doctrines, while they maintain that their creed is the grandest of all religions, because to indulge

the grosser appetites and passions with the mind fixed on union with the Supreme Being is believed to be the highest of all pious achievements. Indeed, according to the distorted ideas and perfected phraseology of the sect, all who are uninitiated into this system are styled 'beasts' (*pasu*), the initiated being called Siddha, 'the perfect ones.'"

Strange to say that in spite of the degraded forms Siva-worship has taken in India, some of the truest seekers after God have been Sivites. The Sankhya system of metaphysics it is that seems to have influenced Sivaism most; for the majority of the Sivites who, not satisfied with the mere rites and practices of their creed, try to get at the rationale of it, distinguish Soul from God on the one hand and matter on the other. Matter or *prakriti* is eternal and is the medium through which Maya and the different modes of divine energy work. The soul which is united with matter becomes separated from God; and it is in this connection that it becomes a prey to sin and falls under the law of death and expiation. It is compared to a *pasu*, a cow, which is held by a chain which is none other than matter, and which prevents it from returning to its *pati* or master; and the work of the faithful worshipper of Siva should be to try and break this bond and reach his blessd feet. God, that is to say Siva, is pure spirit, though to render himself conceivable by man he condescends to assume a body. One could easily imagine how in the true seeker after God such a doctrine as this will lead to religious devotion of a high order. This is what we notice in the writings of a class of Saivites in Southern India, known as Saiva Siddhantas.

The other great Hindu sectarian religion is Vaishnavism. The worship of Vishnu seems to have become popular especially in the last four centuries B.C. Vishnu was the ancient sun-god, who in the Vedas was invoked chiefly as Surya and Savitri. Later on, however, the solar character of the deity became lost, and a reminiscence of it survived only in certain symbols, such as the *discus*, the *chakra*, which is his weapon of war, and the bird *garuda*, which serves him as a steed and still remains the object of a cultus. In the Vedic and Brahmanic period he does not rise very high, but gradually he is elevated to be a supreme God, and during the epic period in particular the period of the Mahabharata, when Vishnu became identified with Krishna, the deification became complete. The names and forms of Prajapathi, Brahma and other creative deities are transferred to him. In his heaven,

Vaikuntha, his consort, Lakshmi or Sri, the goddess of love and beauty, of fruitfulness and marriage, dwells by his side. To her the cow was dedicated and her symbol was the lotus flower.

The doctrine of the *avatars* or incarnations is a new feature which is specially characteristic of Vishnu worship. An Avatara or descent is the manifestation of a supreme being, at once mystic and real in human or animal form. God condescends to infuse his essence into animals and men with the object of delivering his worshippers from certain special dangers or otherwise benefiting mankind. Vishnu, it is believed, has ever been accustomed to descend in the shape of great warriors, great teachers, and even animals, to deliver his creatures in seasons of special exigence and peril. The conception of the Avataras, though chiefly developed in connection with Vaishnavism, during the puranic period, was a very old conception, for even in the Vedic writings we have the idea of incarnation in sacrifice, for they speak of the Lord of the Creation, himself a Purusha begotten in the beginning or before the worlds, offering himself a sacrifice for the Devas, who by birth were mortals like men but were translated to heaven "by the path of Sacrifice." Dr. Bannerjee, as we have seen, considers this as foreshadowing the great sacrifice on the Cross by Christ. However this may be, the Hindu conception of Avataras must be kept distinct from the Christian conception of incarnation. The Hindu doctrine of Avataras is closely connected with the doctrine of the transmigration of souls and rebirths, and in Avataras the analogy of man's life becomes applicable to the Divine life on earth. Just as man is born many times and takes various forms, so also God. The doctrine of Avataras is also connected in a way with the Vedantic idea of the immanence of deity, and viewed in this light there is every difference between the Hindu idea of incarnation and the crowning doctrine of Christianity, the doctrine of the Divine Man, the 'Word made flesh.' It is the extreme doctrine of immanence favoured by Vedantic pantheism that lends itself easily to the multiplicity of Avataras some of which are connected with mythology, some with poetic fable, some with pious legends which have reference to some local cultus or other. The deity may assume in Hinduism the form of an animal with that of a man, for different degrees of the essence of God may be united to various kinds of created beings. Vishnu himself is represented as having taken the form

of fish, tortoise, boar, man-tiger. In a certain sense, therefore, according to Hinduism, all men are incarnations of the Deity, each in his measure Then again Divine manhood is the last thing that is revealed in the Hindu Avatars. It is true Krishna says in the Bhagavat-Gita: "Every time that religion is in danger and that iniquity triumphs, I issue forth. For the defence of the good and the suppression of the wicked, for the establishment of justice, I manifest myself from age to age," but the spiritual significance of the Avatar of Vishnu, even as Krishna, is scarcely noticeable in the accounts of it as given in the Puranas. In the Hindu Avataras, the true nature of God becomes lost in the fleshly garb he assumes; in the Christian conception Incarnation means God unfolding His divine nature, and revealing it by becoming an *individual* man, an *immortal* human soul. If we admit that the moral consciousness is the divinest part of our nature, as being "God's most intimate presence in the soul" then an incarnation of God must bear witness of itself to our moral consciousness as an incarnation not only of God's power, but still more of His character. It must be an incarnation of purity, truth and grace. This is the true test to apply to any incarnation. Again, the Christian doctrine lays stress upon the fact that the Incarnation of the Son of God was a voluntary act; while Hinduism teaches that the supposed incarnations of the Deity, just as the rebirths of ordinary men, are the necessary fruit of works in a previous state of existence. None of the Hindu incarnations could be regarded as expressions of the Divine love to lost sinners. There is, however, a general belief among Hindus in a "sinless incarnation" yet to appear, which is very significant, as it expresses the belief that the incarnations known to them have not fulfilled the ideal of a Divine incarnation.

"Nowhere is the amazing superiority of Christianity over Hinduism," says the Rev. T. E. Slater, in his excellent work on *The Higher Hinduism*, "more manifest than in the character of their respective incarnations, the fair figure of the Gospels being not only the perfection of reason and the summit of all religious truth, and rising in moral purity and self-devotion, not simply above the level of ordinary human nature, but far above the highest and best in ourselves, till we find that we can form no worthier conception of God Himself than we have in the face and character of Jesus Christ." The fact is that the doctrine of the Avataras was put forward by the Brahmans to satisfy the

longing of the people to multiply personal deities. "In a way which surpasses the clumsy device of divine genealogies, or the conception of different "forms" of the same God, which still prevails in the Saivaite religions, it (the doctrine of Avataras) responded by its elasticity and its affection for mystery to all the instincts of this people, who are at once so sensual, so superstitious and so speculative, with an equal appetite for subtle theosophy and coarse exhibitions and who have never been able to rest satisfied with faith in one God or to reconcile themselves to the worship of many."

Vaishnavism has had the greatest influence on the people of India chiefly in the form of the worship of Krishna, who was the highest and so to speak the culminating Avatara of Vishnu. There is reason to believe that the identification of Vishnu with Krishna was the result of the adoption by the Brahmans of one of the popular deities. Krishna was probably at first the Koladevata, the ethnic God, of some powerful confederation of Rajput clans. The details of the life of Krishna are interwoven with the later portions of the Mahabharata, and a separate Purana, known as the Bhagavat-purana, is devoted to his childhood. According to the Puranas the distinctive character of Krishna is an insatiable passion for bachannalian revels and unbridled sensual love.

Vaishnavism has no formal confession of faith; it has no definite system of belief. Like Saivism, it sets aside the triune unity of Brahma, Siva and Vishnu in favour of one God, and like Saivism it clothes this God with a distinct personality; but the creed itself is elastic and capable of adaptation to all varieties of opinion and practice. It can like Brahmanism be pantheistic, monotheistic and polytheistic; it can like Saivism enjoin asceticism and self-mortification; and it can even like Saktism countenance licentiousness and carnality. Intense faith in a personal God, however, is a special characteristic of Vaishnavism. Though Saivism like Vaishnavism recognizes the eternal personality of one Supreme Being, still it is too severe and cold a system to exert much influence over the great majority of the Hindu populations; Vaishnavism, on the other hand, has been more successful in this respect as it possesses some of the essential elements of a genuine religion. For there is more room in it for personal devotion to a personal God. This personal element in Vaishnavism comes out most prominently in the *Bhagavad-Gita*

or Divine Song, which is a philosophical treatise, supposed to have been introduced as an episode in the Mahabharata about 300 A.D. It has been rightly described as the "loveliest flower in the garden of Sanskrit literature," and Schlegal speaks of it as "the finest philosophical poem in the world." Its influence at all times, and on the educated classes of India in particular, has been very considerable, and during recent years especially it has come into greater prominence than ever. The Gita is said to be to the Hindus what the four gospels are to the Christians. The sublimity of its philosophy, its dignity of thought and the deep ethical earnestness that pervade its teachings have not failed to attract Western minds as well. There is an attempt made in the Gita to combine the loftiest philosophy of Brahmanism with the worship of Krishna. The author tries to intertwine the highest speculative thought that satisfied the Indian intellect with fervid devotion to a personal God whom he brings into closest touch with his worshippers. The philosophical element in the poem is old, and it is eclectic, in that it tries to harmonize the doctrines of the Yoga, the Sankhya and the Vedanta. The metaphysics of the Sankhya as regards Purusha and Prakriti are adopted, but the doctrine of a Supreme Spirit is added and this Supreme Spirit is identified with Krishna, the whole being given a Vedantic colouring. The original element in the *Gita* is the teaching put into Krishna's mouth about his own person and the relation in which he stands to his own worshippers and to others. This teaching is summarised as follows by an able Missionary who has written largely on the Gita :—

"Krishna is first of all the source of the visible world. All comes from him, all rests in him. At the end of a Kalpa everything returns to him, and is again reproduced. He pervades all things ; and again, in another sense, he is all that is best and most beautiful in nature and in man. But while Krishna is thus the supreme power in the universe, he is altogether without personal interest in the activity therein displayed ; he sits unconcerned, always engaged in action, yet controlling his own nature, and therefore never becoming bound by the results of his action. This conception of the Supreme, as at once the centre of all activity and yet completely detached, enables the author, on the one hand, to soften the seemingly hopeless contradiction involved in identifying the king, warrior and demon slayer, Krishna, with the passionless, characterless *Atman* of the Upanishads, and, so on the other, to hold up Krishna as the supreme example of Action Yoga.

We now turn to Krishna's relation to his worshippers. Knowledge is good ; mental concentration is better ; disinterested action is better than either, but the supreme wisdom is faith in Krishna and boundless devotion to

him. Such is the teaching of the *Gita*. The worst epithets are kept for those who fail to recognise him as the Supreme, who disregard him, carp at him, hate him. To those who resort to Krishna, who place faith in him, who shower on him their love, devotion and worship, who rest on him, think of him and remember him at all times,—to them are promised forgiveness, release from the bonds of action, attainment of tranquillity, true knowledge and final bliss in Krishna.

Since all the gods come from Krishna, and since he is in the last resort the sole reality, worship offered to other gods is in a sense offered to him. He accepts it and rewards it. This is in accordance with his indifference to men: to him no one is hateful, no one dear. Yet the highest blessings fall only to those who recognise him directly."

The remarkable resemblances in the Gita to some of the ideas and expressions of the Bible and some curious similarities existing between the legends of Krishna and the life of Christ have led scholars such as Dr. Lorinser, Prof. Weber and others to infer that the Brahmans must have borrowed Christian ideas from the early Christian communities in India. This is an interesting question upon which however further light is needed, but the new doctrine of *bhakti* or personal devotion and faith, which finds a prominent place in the Gita as well as in Saivaism, points to an entirely new conception of salvation which is different both from the *Jnana-marga*, the path of knowledge, as propounded in Hindu philosophy and from the *Karma-marga*, the path of works, as propounded in ritualistic Brahmanism. What is required of the worshippers of Krishna is not knowledge, is not deeds, it is *bhakti, i.e.*, "faith, humble submission, absolute devotion, love of God." For one who possesses bhakti, ascetic practices and exercises of meditation are superfluous. The Bhakti doctrine is enunciated in such passages as these in the Gita:—

"Thinking on me, thou shalt conquer all obstacles by my grace;"

"In him seek shelter with all thy might, by his grace thou shalt attain supreme peace, the eternal dwelling place;"

"Among all Yogis, he who with the inner self abideth in me, who, full of faith adoreth me, he is considered by me to be the most completely harmonized."

This doctrine of Bhakti is not to be met with either in the Vedas or in the Upanishads, and it bears a close resemblance to the Christian doctrine of faith and grace, and hence some have conjectured that Christian influence must have operated in bringing out this new dogma of faith. There are however others who think that the doctrine of *Bhakti* could not have

been borrowed from Christianity, and that it is the necessary complement of a religion that has reached a certain stage of monotheism. However this may be, it is evident that Higher Hinduism does not recognize *bhakti* as a suitable substitute for the path of knowledge; it is merely granted as a concession to lower minds and as a preparatory stage to a higher level of piety. The doctrine of *bhakti*, moreover, was carried to absurd extremes; for example this doctrine it is that is made to countenance the view that a single act of faith, a single sincere invocation of the name of God, is enough to atone for a whole life of iniquity; and it is this doctrine that is appealed to in favour of the view that the acts of the bhakta, the true devotee, are indifferent, for the man who has once experienced the effects of grace can never sin. Even the sensual excesses of Sakti worship have been justified by this doctrine. Whatever may be the points of contact between *Bhakti* and the Christian doctrine of faith, the practical effect of these has been different, but at the same time if there is anything that the Gita with its emphasis on personal devotion to a personal God brings out clearly, it is the insufficiency of pantheism and the need of some object of worship which is capable of drawing out the love and devotion of the worshipper; and yet the Krishna of the Gita who is put forward as the object of bhakti worship, is after all a lower Brahman such as Isvara, the result of the combination of the highest Brahman, the unborn, imperishable Self, and Maya, and as such is an illusion.

The influence of personal leadership has been greater in Vaishnavism than in Saivism, and hence the larger number of Vaishnava sects. The passion for hero-worship has been carried so far as to raise even religious teachers or gurus to the dignity of Avataras, and this tendency has also led to the absorption of all kinds of cults by Vaishnavism. There are two Vaishnava sects however of considerable importance of whom something should be said here. The sect founded by Ramanuja in the twelfth century is one of the most important of Vaishnava sects. In opposition to Sankara, the great Vedantist, he contended that the spirits of men are truly, essentially and eternally distinct from the one universal spirit, while he admitted at the same time the dependence of the human soul on the divine, and urged the duty of striving after complete, though conscious union with the supreme. In regard to the external world he held that God is himself both

the Creator (Karta) of the world and the substantial cause or material out of which it is formed. The world, including individual souls and God, stands towards each other in the relation of body and soul, and that body and soul are virtually one. It will be seen that Ramanuja asserts in a way the unity of the Supreme and human spirits, hence his theory is known as qualified non-dualism (Visishtadvaita) in opposition to the pure non-dualism of Sankara (Advaita). So far the general philosophic theory propounded by Ramanuja. Within the Ramanuja sect itself there have arisen further sects. The question of the nature of the soul's dependence on Vishnu has caused a separation into two parties. The one known as the Vadagalais hold that the soul has power to lay hold of the Supreme Being by its own will, act and effort, just as the young monkey clings to his mother. This is known as the monkey theory (markata-nyâya). The other sect, the Tengalais, hold the view that the human souls remain passive and helpless until acted on by the Supreme Spirit, just as the kitten remains passive and helpless until seized and transported, *nolens volens* from place to place by the mother cat. This is known as 'the cat-hold theory' (mârjana-nyâya).

The other important sect is that founded by Madhva about 1200 of our era. His system is commonly known as the dualistic system or Dvaita in opposition to the non-dualism (Advaita) of Sankara and the qualified non-dualism (Vishishtadvaita) of Ramanuja. Like Ramanuja, Madhva taught that there was only one God, whose principal name was Vishnu, but he affirmed a real and unextinguishable duality between the Supreme Being and individual souls. They are absolutely distinct. "Like a bird and the string; like the juices of various trees; like rivers and the sea; like fresh and salt water; like a robber and the robbed; like a man and his energy; so are soul and the Lord diverse and for ever different." As regards the visible world he taught that its elements existed eternally in the Supreme Being, and were only created by Him in the sense of being shaped, ordered, and arranged by His power and will. The Madhva doctrine comes very near to the doctrines of Christian Theism. There are various other sects which it is needless to describe, but though a vein of philosophy runs through them all, the majority of them so far as the masses are concerned are chiefly concerned with rites and ceremonies and external forms of worship of the most trivial kind.

I have referred chiefly to the two chief sectarian religions

and some of the forms they have assumed, but it must be remembered that later Hinduism has swallowed a great deal of Animism and demon-worship of the non-Aryan races, so much so that Mr. Risley who wrote the latest Census Report of India describes Hinduism as "Animism more or less tempered by philosophy." At one end is Animism, an essentially materialistic theory of things, which seeks by means of magic to ward off physical disasters and which looks no further than the world of sense. At the other end is Pantheism combined with a system of transcendental metaphysics. Between these extremes of practical magic at the one end and transcendental metaphysics at the other, a place has been found for every form of belief and practice that it is possible for the human imagination to conceive. Worship of demons, of natural forces, of deified men, ascetics, animals, powers of life, organs of sex, weapons, primitive elements, modern machinery; sects which enjoin the strictest forms of asceticism, sects which revel in promiscuous debauchery, sects which devote themselves to hypnotic meditation; all these are included in Hinduism and each finds some order of intellect or sentiment to which it appeals. And through all this bewildering variety of creeds there is traceable everywhere the influence of an all-pervading pessimism, the connection that life, and more especially the prospect of a series of lives is the heaviest of all burdens that can be laid upon man. The one ideal is to obtain release from the ever turning wheel of conscious existence and to sink individuality in the impersonal spirit of the world.

IV.—Fundamental Doctrines of Hinduism and Christianity.

In the last three lectures I tried to trace rapidly the growth of Hinduism from its source in the Vedic hymns up to its present form, which includes within itself many incongruous and diverse elements derived from various sources. We also considered some of the leading ideas underlying Higher Hinduism. In this lecture I shall consider in somewhat greater detail the fundamental doctrines of Hinduism, and show how far they agree with or differ from the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. There is no doubt an element of philosophic unity traceable in all forms of Hinduism, but as a system of religion it is wanting in consistency and definiteness. India alone presents the strange spectacle of a vast and complicated system of polytheism which has its root in pantheism. Educated Hindus have claimed for Hinduism a superior excellence, in that it tolerates and embraces and incorporates all the lower phases of religion, and as such it is said that it helps the minds of men to pass from the lowest stage of religious development up to the highest. But though from one point of view of Vedantism, which asserts that God is the one underlying principle of phenomena, it is possible to justify polytheism on pantheistic grounds, still from another point of view, which constitutes the essence of Indian pantheism, *viz.*, that this underlying principle of unity is impersonal and devoid of qualities, it is evident that there can be no logical connection between Indian polytheism and Indian pantheism; for it is the personal gods of the Hindu pantheon that the masses of India worship. As Professor Flint puts it:—"Pantheism can give support to polytheism and receive support from it but only at the cost of sacrificing all its claims to be a rational system and of losing such moral virtue as it possesses. If it looks upon the popular deities as mere fictions of the popular mind, its association with polytheism can only mean a conscious alliance with falsehood, the deliberate propagation of lies, a persistent career of hypocrisy . . . .India alone is surely sufficient proof that the union of pantheism with polytheism does not correct but stimulate the extravagances of the latter. Pantheism instead of elevating and purifying Hindu polytheism has contrib-

uted to increase the number, the absurdity and the foulness of its superstitions."

If there is anything that distinguishes Hinduism from Christianity, it is the fact that while the former tries to evolve a form of theology from metaphysics, Christianity bases its theology upon facts of experience. The order of development of Christian doctrine is from life to thought, from fact to theory. It is not based upon a mythology which must fade away in the fuller light; it is not bound up with a philosophy which answers only to a special stage in the progress of thought; it is an attempt to seize the meaning of occurrences and to interpret actual experiences both in the history of the individual and of society. Hinduism, strange to say, has no formal confession of faith, hence the little reference to doctrines in the previous lectures. There is no doubt a heritage of teaching common to all forms of Hinduism, but this is chiefly derived from a particular attitude of philosophic thought towards life, for the fundamental and all-pervasive beliefs of Hinduism have their root in *a priori* speculations. Take for instance the pessimism which is stamped so deeply on Hinduism as a whole. This pessimism does not of course make itself felt in the religion of the Vedas, for it is only during the period of the Upanishads that we find the theory of the misery of life in its complete development. This pessimism may be partly due to the depressing doctrine of the transmigration of souls which had become the leading doctrine of Hinduism from the time of the Upanishads; it may also be accounted for by the fact that the early Aryans had partly absorbed the beliefs and practices of the semi-savage aboriginal tribes, for it must be remembered that the religion of the Vedas had by this time advanced eastward and taken possession of not only the region between the Jumna and the Ganges but had also gone further east as far as the Gumti and the Gogra; but it is also clear that the introspective, brooding metaphysical mysticism which had become the characteristic feature of Hindu thought must have had its own share in developing Indian pessimism. When speculation, after undermining the sense of reality in human experience, goes a step further and tries to resolve the transcendental object itself into an empty abstraction, the inevitable result is a philosophy of despair. Instead of conceiving and ordering the chaos of existence under a single supreme principle, Indian thinkers sublimated it into an All-One of which nothing can be predicated except bare impal-

pable existence, while the world of the particular itself was made out to be empty seeming and deception. Evacuate life of all content, regard the external world and one's own existence itself as an illusion, and we are stranded in hopeless pessimism. We are forced to admit, therefore, that the Vedantic conception of Brahman is answerable a great deal for the theory of the misery of life which dominates Indian religious thought in all its aspects.

How very different is the attitude towards life which follows as a consequence from the Christian conception of God? In the first place the rigid ethical monotheism of the Old Testament forbids us to think of either an empty abstraction as the only reality, or a mere blind fate as the sole governing principle of the universe. The essence of a hopeful idealism, a trusting in the faithfulness and righteousness of God is what is revealed everywhere in the Old Testament; add to this the inner certainty of fellowship with God, which is promised to everyone who walks in accordance with the Divine will; and the faith in God becomes a mighty instrument to overcome physical and moral evils. And the fuller revelation of God in the New Testament, how much it tends to strengthen our belief in the ultimate triumph of the good! Love and fellowship, affinity and affection are bound up in the conception of God as interpreted *through* and *by* Christ. By the very constitution of His being, God is a Father, and man by the very fact of his creation in Christ is constituted a son. "He could not be conceived as loveless thought, or as abstract substance, or an empty energy, so long as the terms Father and Son could be made to denote eternal facts and relations essential to His Deity." And it is this fuller and deeper revelation of God that accounts for the true Christian attitude which is not one of shallow optimism which ignores physical and moral evil, and expects an easy victory of the good without any struggle, but which, admitting that the good can only develop itself in conflict with its opposite, and consequently at the price of pain, still believes firmly that even the evils of the world can be made to minister to the good purposes of God, that the world with all its imperfections is the work of God, the object of His redeeming love, the place of His coming Kingdom; and that man too can become a co-worker with his Heavenly Father in helping to bring about this Kingdom of good-will and righteousness. The fundamental attitude of the Christian towards pain and suffering, towards sin and sorrow may be summed up in the words of S. Paul as follows:

"We know that all things work together for good to them that love God. If God be for us, who can be against us? I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor any other creature shall be able to separate us from the love of God. As sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing and yet possessing all things." Hinduism has failed completely to solve the problem of evil, and it is the Christian view of life that proves to be the true view in that it combines the highest idealism, belief in the world-governing power of the good, which aims at the realising of moral ends, with that common-sense realism which sees the world as it actually is.

We have had occasion more than once to contrast the Christian conception of God with that presented in Higher Hinduism. However well-fitted the Supreme Being of the Vedanta may be as a subject for philosophical investigation, it cannot serve as an object of worship, as worship is "essentially an act and process of reciprocity, a giving and a receiving; in it man surrenders himself to God, that God may communicate of His grace to man and realize in him His will." The Hindu conception of Brahma is a cold Impersonality, utterly destitute of moral qualities, utterly void of the capacity of love, and out of relation with the world. How can such a being be the object of adoration and trust, of reverence and affection?

The Vedantic position has been most clearly defined by Prof. Deussen, an ardent admirer of Higher Hinduism, in the following words:—(1) "The Soul cannot be different from Brahma, because besides Brahma there is nothing; (2) it cannot be regarded as a transformation of Brahma, because Brahma is unchangeable; (3) and still less is it a part of Brahma, because Brahma has no parts. Nothing remains, then, but to conclude that the soul is identical with Brahma—that each one of us is the all-unchangeable Brahma, without parts, and comprehending in itself all being."

There can be no conception of a Supreme Being more calculated to deaden all effort, to extinguish all spiritual powers and reduce human beings to a state of non-entity than this. How very different the conception of God as Heavenly Father, who sees in every man His child, the object of His merciful and loving care and wise training, who condescends to the meanest sinner in compassionate love in order to make him the imitator and instrument of His own holy love! "Now are we the sons of God, and it doth

not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that, when it doth appear, we shall be like Him." Though it is through revelation, the actual self manifestation of God in humiliation, suffering and sacrifice that we have been able to realize God in the deepest and truest sense as "our Father," still it is the Christian conception of God that fits in with the highest fact of human experience, namely, that of personality. Christianity alone has announced a doctrine of God which is intelligible in the light of the analogy drawn from our consciousness of our own personality. For after all personality is our only standard of reality, for nothing is accounted real unless it is related to and embraced within the sphere of personality. "It is from the intensest consciousness of our own real existence as persons that the conception of reality takes its rise in our minds; and it is through this consciousness alone that we can raise ourselves to the faintest image of the supreme reality of God." The Rev. J. R. Illingworth, M.A., in his widely read Bampton Lectures on *Personality, Human and Divine*, has pointed out how Christianity has helped to intensify and emphasize this notion of personality and how the doctrine of the Trinity as dogmatically elaborated is the most philosophic attempt to conceive of God as personal; for to quote his own words: "The Unitarian imagines his conception of God, as an undifferentiated unity, to be simpler than the Christian. But it cannot really be translated into thought. It cannot be thought out. Whereas the Christian doctrine, however mysterious, moves in the direction at least, of conceivability, for the simple reason that it is the very thing towards which our own personality points. Our own personality is triune; but it is potential, unrealized triunity, which is incomplete in itself, and must go beyond itself for completion, as, for example, in the family. If, therefore, we are to think of God as personal, it must be by what is called the method of eminence (*via eminentiae*)—the method, that is which considers God as possessing in transcendent perfection, the same attributes which are perfectly possessed by man. He must, therefore, be pictured as One whose triunity has nothing potential or unrealized about it; whose triune elements are eternally actualized, by no outward influence, but from within; a Trinity in unity; a social God, with all the conditions of personal existence internal to himself."

It has been thought that the Christian doctrine of Trinity has its counterpart in certain Hindu doctrines. The idea of associat-

ing the gods in groups of three is very ancient in India and examples of it occur frequently in the Vedic hymns. In the Brahmanas we find the idea expressed that there are in reality only three gods:—Agni, Vayu and Surya, that is to say a divinity for the earth, fire; another for the atmosphere, wind; and a third for the heavens, the sun. But the real Hindu doctrine of Trinity comes into prominence only after the two great sectarian religions of Saivaism and Vaishnavism became established. According to the Hindu doctrine of Trimurthi or Trinity, Brahma the creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Siva the destroyer are merely personal manifestations of the one eternal impersonal spirit Brahman, into whom they are ultimately destined to be absorbed. Brahman in himself is qualitiless and incapable of action, but in Brahma, Vishnu and Siva he becomes capable of action and partakes of the three qualities of goodness, passion and darkness, subtle principles that pervade everything. The famous sacred monosyllable *Om*, to which when rightly uttered, most stupendous powers are ascribed, is generally said to denote the triad of gods; being equivalent to *a*, *u*, *m*—*a* denoting Vishnu, *u* Siva, and *m* Brahma. The prominent idea therefore in the Hindu doctrine of the Trimurthi is that the three gods Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva represent forms of one supreme Being in his three-fold activity as Creator, Preserver and Destroyer. This doctrine no doubt, to a certain extent, resembles the Christian doctrine of Trinity but there is still a vast difference between the two. The Hindu doctrine is the result of an after-thought; it was a metaphysical devise of the priests to effect a compromise between orthodox Brahmanism, which, denies a personal god, and the two sectarian religions whose chief feature is an intense faith in a personal god. The Hindu Trinity is a mere external mechanical union; the Christian Trinity is a union springing out of the essential conception of God in His relation to man, based upon the conception of personality as the true test of reality.

There is no element of speculation in the Christian doctrine; it is no metaphysical invention but an interpretation of a revealed fact, an expression in philosophic language of what had entered the world as a statement of fact—the fact that there is plurality, triune plurality in God, which alone makes possible the conception of God whose essence is love. The Christian doctrine of Trinity is merely a fuller, a clearer revelation of God in that it

reveals to us "that Divine Society, whose co-equal members are one infinite eternal love, and who in that love's exuberance come forth, in a sense, from out themselves, to create, to sustain, to redeem, to sanctify, to bless." It has been well said that the doctrine of Trinity is the sole metaphysic of love. No one has brought out so clearly the distinction between the Hindu doctrine of Trimurthi and the Christian Trinity as Dr. A. M. Fairbairn:—

"The Hindu Trimurthi only represents the adaptation of a pantheistic idea to historical conditions. The co-ordination of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva is recent, and may be described as the result of a religious diplomacy, all the more real that it was unconscious and undesigned, and a metaphysical speculation that acted here just as it had acted everywhere. Each of the deities had a prior and very ancient history. They run back into the Vedic period, and are the survivals of different Mythological schools and tendencies. Brahma (masculine) is the deification of the priestly idea, especially the art and efficacy of prayer; Vishnu is a form of the Sun-god, who as Surya or Savitri, moved like a beneficent and radiant Spirit across the face of the sky; and Siva is the Survivor of the ancient Storm-gods, who swept from their homes in the Himalayas with destructive force down upon the plains. These do not represent one religion, but distinct religions, or rather, many different religions, each with its own customs, festivals, modes and object of worship, and even geographical distribution. Then the Brahma (neuter), in whom they are co-ordinated, is the universal substance or soul; of him or it, all phenomenal being is a manifestation. He is no conscious reason, no home of ethical relations and distinctions, but only the ultimate essence or basis of all things. Every God and every man and every creature is in him as much as the sacred triad, and in all he appears or becomes incarnate. In other words the system is a polytheistic and mythological Pantheism. But the Christian idea is the opposite of all this. God is personal, conscious, ethical; the Godhead expresses this personal, conscious and ethical being as immanent and essential. Man cannot be absorbed into God or God individualized and distributed in man. The Persons in the Godhead are incapable of absorption into more abstract forms of being; they represent God, not as an ever-unfolding and enfolding substance, but as a necessary and eternal communion, the home of life and love."

Dr. Robson, in his excellent little work on *Hinduism and Christianity*, seems to suggest that the Vedantic conception of the Supreme Spirit as *Sat-chit-ananda*, which regards Brahman as Being, Thought, and Joy, contains a certain analogy to the Christian Trinity. He writes:—

"We, trained as we are to believe in the personality of God, have difficulty in conceiving an impersonal God, and in perceiving the full bearing of such a definition. But let us try to introduce into it the idea of personality, and consequent relationship, chiefly the relationship of the creator to the creature, imparting what He Himself has and we have: the imparter of Being, the Creator; the imparter of Thought, the Word; the imparter of Joy, the Com

forter. Here, then, in the Vedantic Trinity we have a certain analogy to the Christian Trinity. How it may have arisen we cannot now determine. However it may be accounted for and whatever its value, such is the Hindu idea of the Supreme Spirit. On this prime question of theology the distinction between Hinduism and Christianity is as to the personality of God."

With all due deference to Dr. Robson's view, I fail to find any analogy between the Christian Trinity and the Vedantic idea of *Sat-chit-ananda;* for it must be remembered that Brahman is not conceived as a Subject having the attributes of eternal existence, intelligence and bliss, but as existence itself, as intelligence itself, as bliss itself, which last by the bye is described as a permanent state "resembling precisely that of 'deep sleep,' 'a condition of insensibility.'" It is needless to say that the very conception of intelligence or bliss, existing without a subject to which these belong, is unthinkable. Moreover, it is only Brahman conceived as Nirguna, without attributes that is real; the Saguna Brahman, the conditioned Brahman, conceived as *Sat-chit-ananda* is therefore unreal and illusory.

Just as the whole course of Christian theology has been determined by the problems created by the personality of Christ, so the whole history of Indian philosophic and religious thought has been influenced by the doctrine of transmigration and the complementary doctrine of Karma. Hinduism, higher and lower, is inexplicable without these doctrines. The growth of Indian pessimism itself has been fostered to a great extent by the transmigration theory, which had become deeply rooted in the popular conscience by the time Sakyamuni was meditating on the means of salvation. There is however no trace of the doctrine of metempsychosis in the Vedas; on the other hand, the belief in future life similar to that which Christianity admits is to be found in the Rig Veda. Nor was this belief rooted in any sickly pessimism. Death was not viewed with any terror, it was merely Yama's kind messenger who brought people to the home which he had gone before to prepare. Somewhere beyond the grave, in the regions where gods dwelt, the departed spirits were assembled under the sceptre of Yama. The morning and evening twilight, the gloaming in which darkness mingles with light, were the "outstretched arms of death," the two watchful dogs of Yama, guiding men to their rest. There is a striking hymn addressed to Soma, in which the depth and intensity of the longing for immortality are brought out with vivid effect.

" To the world where unfading Light, where Sunshine itself hath its home,
Thither bring me, O Soma, where no harm and no death ever come ;
Where Yama as sovereign rules, where the innermost heaven exists,
Where the great waters repose, Oh, there let me dwell an immortal.
In the heavenly vaults where man lives and moves at his pleasure,
Where are the mansions of light, Oh, there let me dwell an immortal.
Where wishes and longing abide, where the Sun ever beams in his glory,
Where bliss that can satisfy dwells, Oh, there let me dwell an immortal.
Where gladness and joy may be found, where pleasure and rapture prevail,
Where every wish is fulfilled, Oh, there let me dwell an immortal."

Though a belief in immortality in some form or other is to be met with in the Vedas, still it remained a vague, abstract, colourless dogma. It is in Christianity that this belief reaches the highest point it could ever reach ; for it is in Christianity that the doctrine receives amplification, a definite consistent character, and a new spiritual significance. Tennyson was to some extent, therefore, justified in saying that " the cardinal point of Christianity is the hope after Death." Christianity emphasizes personality for one thing. It bases the validity of the belief in immortality not so much upon miraculous evidence as upon the consciousness of the existence of God. " God is not the God of the dead but of the living " is the only argument to which Christ appeals to to prove immortality. Above all Christianity gives the doctrine a new ethical and spiritual significance which it never had before.

Soon however the belief in future life gives place to the doctrine of Transmigration. The peculiar feature of the Hindu doctrine of transmigration is its ethical character, as it is based upon a moral estimate of life ; and it is the law of Karma according to which transmigration is supposed to act that gives this doctrine this ethical colouring. Karma means action ; and the doctrine of Karma is that man is under the dominance of the actions of his past lives, his present lot being the fruit of his conduct in previous births ; and further that the amount of pleasure and pain he enjoys is in exact proportion to the merit or demerit he has accumulated by his actions in previous births. This doctrine is not without its merits. It implies that there is not a single act of our lives which is not without its consequences on character and destiny, and as such it gives expression to the truth contained in the New Testament: " Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." It emphasizes further the bond between deed and penalty as closely as that between seed and fruit.

"Yea, all the deeds that men have done,
In light of day, before the sun,
Or veiled beneath the gloom of night,
The good, the bad, the wrong, the right,—
These, though forgotten, re-appear,
And travel, silent, in their rear.

The doctrine also implies that the future can be moulded by the use we make of the present, which is also a truth of great practical value. But there are serious objections to the doctrine. In the first place the doctrine leaves no room for the working of the Divine will in the affairs of men, and as such it is fatal to a belief in the providential Government of the universe. If all that man is and is capable of becoming is the result of a cosmic process which works itself out according to inexorable laws then God is reduced to a silent, uninterested spectator who has no power to interfere with the concerns of the world and with the affairs of human beings. "There is no room for independent divine will, by the side of the power of Karma, which governs everything with iron necessity;" for where inexorable law reigns there supreme mercy and forgiveness have no place. Not only does the Karma system afford no room for the working of Divine Will, it makes light of the power of human Will as well. Volition is practically of little use where the working of Karma is admitted. In the text-book on Hindu religion and ethics, published by the Board of Trustees of the Central College, Benares, founded by Mrs. Annie Besant, an attempt is made to restate the doctrine of Karma in such a way as to meet the charge of fatalism brought against it. We are told there that the view of Karma that paralyses human efforts is a crude and mistaken one, and that men should see in it a guide, and not a paralyser of action, for "Karma is not a finished thing awaiting us, but a constant becoming, in which the future is not only shaped by the past, but is being modified by the present. If a man desires to be good, he is putting forth an energy which presently will make him good, however bad he may be now. A man is not a helpless being, destined by his Karma to be either good or bad, but he becomes that which he daily chooses as desirable—badness or goodness." It is true by individual effort it is possible to alter the Karma-force and create more favourable conditions for the future, but this alterative effect is confined to a single life, whilst the Karma-force of actions of innumerable births awaits to be exhausted; so "against the ages during which the destiny has been

in the making, the best efforts which the present conscious subject can put forth to remake and transform it must be puny and in their combined effect insignificant." If proof were needed of the practical effect of the doctrine of Karma in crushing all personal aspiration and enterprise, it will be found in the fatalistic character of the Hindus. In the expressions of ordinary speech, in the proverbs they use, we find evidence of the powerlessness to interfere with even circumstances which have not the force of inevitableness. "It is written in my fate," is an expression frequent in the lips of the masses of India. The doctrine of Karma further makes light of virtuous deeds. It is true that a man whose life is given up to good deeds is supposed to assume a higher form of bodily existence in the next birth, but virtuous deeds do not help him to gain salvation, which is to free the soul of all its bodily embodiments. On the other hand the performance of good deeds is a hindrance to the attainment of salvation, for they necessitate reincarnation, which is the very thing that is to be avoided. To attain *mukti* or liberation, to be one with Brahma, the bonds that bind the soul to bodily existence must be broken completely, and in effecting this object a virtuous life is no more helpful than a sinful and vicious life. Thought or knowledge alone is able to effect this liberation. From this point of view the ethical value of the doctrine of Karma is lessened considerably.

It has been claimed for the doctrine of Karma that it offers an explanation of the apparent inequalities of men's lot in life, but the explanation of pain and suffering given in the Hindu theory is anything but in accord with the Christian explanation. Some aspects of the difference we have already considered. In the first place the Karma doctrine attaches an undue significance to pain and suffering, to the joys and sorrows of this world, which is inconsistent with Higher Hinduism, which looks upon everything connected with phenomenal existence as illusory. The only real substance being the soul, everything else besides it is mere shadow, pretext, figure, symbol or dream; and yet the hypothesis of transmigration which is the foundation stone of Hinduism is based upon the supreme significance of the very things which the higher Hindu thought of India has always viewed with contempt. Then again the joys and sorrows of the world have only one use, they are utilized as the rewards or punishments, as the case may be, for actions performed in previous births. Suffering is only penal; it has value only with reference to the past, it is not regarded as having a dis-

ciplinary value. The source of the striking contrast between the Christian and Hindu view of suffering is well brought out by an able writer in *The Christian College Magazine*. He points out that the difference is to be found in the fact that while Christianity represents phenomenal life as a moral order, the doctrine of Karma represents it as a judicial system. "Christianity teaches that God's purpose in creating the present order was not to dispense judgment but to educate a race of beings into likeness to Himself. Therefore, the function of divine providence in the present life is not to requite, but to reveal the character of God in such a way as to win their love, their service, and their imitation.....Hinduism assumes without proof and in the teeth of the evidence offered by the prosperity of evil-doers, that the business of divine providence in the present order is to recompense goodness and badness.....Believers in the strict Karma-system will hold that the principle followed is that of proportioning happiness to merit. Christians believe that they know of a better principle....It is the principle of subordinating the whole phenomenal system to the one grand purpose of offering to every soul coming into life one and the same eternal boon,—the boon of a voluntary service of God which is capable of gradual development towards the consummation of a perfected fellowship."

There is a radical difference between the Hindu and Christian plan of salvation, and this arises not only from the different ways in which God is conceived in the two religions, but also from the way in which man's relation to God, his nature, his state and his destiny are conceived. Underlying all these differences there is a fundamental difference of psychological standpoint which should not be overlooked. We notice a false psychology running throughout the whole of Higher Hinduism and that is the disparagement of Will at the expense of Thought. If there has been any advance in psychological science in recent years it is due to the recognition of the fact that the Self is an active unifying principle which holds together thoughts and feelings and utilizes them with a view to action. In the psychology of the present day the emphasis is transferred from the purely rational function to the so long neglected practical side. "The willing department of our nature," says Prof. James, "dominates both the conceiving and the feeling departments .....From its first dawn to its highest actual attainment we find that the cognitive faculty, where it appears to exist at all, appears as one element

in an organic mental whole, and as a minister to higher mental powers—the powers of will." All the rich content of modern developments in philosophy, such as Pragmatism, Personal Idealism, Humanism, &c., are the result of the recognition of the above truth. However much, for purposes of study, we may abstract thought from its relation to mind and view it in isolation, yet if we are to be guided by universal human experience and the laws of that inward nature which we all have in common we shall find that thought cannot be separated from will, and yet through higher Hinduism the spiritual nature of the Self, the essence of the Soul is viewed as connected with thought and thought alone. The theoretic life, the life of contemplation, of abstraction from the emotions and passions and withdrawal from the strife of human affairs is the soul's genuine concern, so far as Hinduism is concerned. Will being ignored, as a necessary consequence the same importance is not attached to conduct in the Hindu plan of salvation as in the Christian. Even Matthew Arnold, who has found it difficult to conceive God in terms of personality, is struck with the fact that the Old Testament is filled with the word and thought of righteousness. "As well imagine," he says, "a man with a sense for sculpture not cultivating it by the help of the remains of Greek act or a man with a sense for poetry not cultivating it by the help of Homer and Shakespeare, as a man with a sense for conduct not cultivating it by the help of the Bible;" and Christ deepened this sense for conduct by emphasizing the inwardness of conduct, by pointing out that the inward feelings and dispositions from which conduct proceed are even more important than the performance of outward acts. To quote Matthew Arnold:—"While the Old Testament says: Attend to conduct! the New Testament says: Attend to the feelings and dispositions whence conduct proceeds! And as attending to conduct had very much degenerated into deadness and formality, attending to the *springs* of conduct was a revelation, a revival of intuitive and fresh perceptions, a touching of morals with emotion, a discovering of religion similar to that which had been effected when Israel, struck with the abiding power not of man's causing which makes for righteousness, and filled with joy and awe by it, had in the old days named God the Eternal." But Matthew Arnold forgets that the passion for righteousness disclosed in the Bible is the outcome not of a belief in any vague abstract principle that makes for righteousness but was the result of a belief in one, only, holy

and righteous God, who realizes His will or moral good in the world. The Bible view of man and of his relation to nature and to God are also based upon the supreme importance of Will; for the Bible speaks of man, as a rule, not in his relation to nature, but as distinct from it. It assumes that the life which is in him, with that reflective consciousness, that sense of freedom, that will to act, that affinity to and capacity for the divine, are just the things which distinguish him from life in any other form and places him over nature. We have already noted what a subordinate place moral conduct plays in the Hindu scheme of salvation, and this will also account for the imperfect development of the sense of sin to which also attention has been drawn in a previous lecture. When the Hindu speaks of *mukti* or salvation, it means something very different from what Christians mean by that term. The term *mukti* strictly means liberation, but it is not liberation from sin, but it is liberation from personal conscious existence that the Hindu refers. Salvation, according to Higher Hinduism, comes not by righteousness, but by knowledge; not by the casting out of sin, but by emerging out of ignorance. The root of all evil is not a disordered and unsubmissive will, but it is a darkened understanding. The remedy therefore is not moral but metaphysical. Hence also the prominence given to mystic meditation in the Hindu system. The climax of the religious life of the rishis was abstract contemplation, whereas Christianity insists on translating truth and knowledge into action. A little consideration will shew that the scheme of salvation inculcated in Higher Hinduism is selfish in the extreme. "It is the relinquishment for one's own sake of the world and our fellowmen, our families and friends, instead of the endeavour to regenerate them; aiming at a solitary salvation at the expense of our duty to others. It is the destruction of the social passion and of the idea of love." So long as Christianity emphasizes as one of its most essential teachings the conception of a Kingdom of God upon earth, that is of a community of children of God united by the spirit of serving love and of world-overcoming trust in God, it is impossible for a true follower of Christ to live a life of isolation. There is no doubt an ascetic note noticeable in the teaching of Christ, but with Him the denial of self and the world is not the final thing, not an end in itself; it is not the result of an unconditional negation and depreciation of the finite in favour of the sole justification of the infinite, it is only the means of gaining the

true self and a better world :—"Whosoever would save his life shall lose it, and whosoever shall lose his life for My sake and the Gospel's shall save it."

A most interesting comparison has been made by Professor Deussen between the Christian and Hindu plan of salvation, in his work on *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*. He says :—"Why do we need a release from this existence? Because it is the realm of sin, is the reply of the Bible. The Veda answers, Because it is the realm of ignorance. The former sees depravity in the volitional, the latter in the intellectual side of man. The Bible demands a change of the will, the Veda of the understanding. On which side does the truth lie? If man were pure will or pure intelligence, we should have to decide for one or the other alternative. But since he is a being who both wills and knows, the great change upon which the Bible and the Veda alike make salvation depend must be fully wrought out in both departments of the life. Such a change is, in the first place, according to the biblical view, the softening of a heart hardened by natural self-love, and the inclining of it to deeds of righteousness, affection and self-denial. But it is, in the second place, the breaking forth upon us of the light of the great intellectual truth, which the Upanishads taught before Kant, that this entire universe with its relations to space, its consequent manifoldness and dependence upon the mind that apprehends, rests solely upon an illusion (Mâyâ) natural indeed to us through the limitations of our intellect; and that there is in truth one Being alone, eternal, exalted above space and time, multiplicity and change, revealed in all the forms of nature, and by me who also am one and undivided, discovered and realised within as my very Self, the Atman. As surely, however, as to adopt the significant teaching of Schopenhauer, the will and not the intellect is the centre of man's nature, so surely must the pre-eminence be assigned to Christianity in that its demand for a renewal of the will is peculiarly vital and essential. But, on the other hand, as certainly as man is not mere will but intellect besides, so certainly will that Christian renewal reveal itself on the other side as a renewal of knowledge, just as the Upanishads teach."

I shall not attempt to criticise the above statement, for that will necessitate going over once more the whole ground that we have traversed; but there are two misconceptions in the statement which require to be noted. Professor Deussen

assumes that while Christianity insists on a change of the Will, it ignores the fact that man's nature is intellectual as well as volitional. This is not true. Christianity emphasizes the fact that salvation comes not by knowledge but by the casting out of sin and by a change of heart which manifests itself in conduct, not because it regards man as pure will, but because it emphasises personality; and in emphasizing personality as we have already seen it recognizes the significance of man as an intelligent being as well, though the truth that through the workings of volition alone personality acts as a whole is accentuated in a way it has never been done before. Then again Professor Deussen is not right in assuming that Christianity does not emphasize the infinitude of God, and His independence of all conditions that govern phenomenal existence. The criticism is all the more surprising when we remember that the usual charge brought against the Christian doctrine of God is that it is more a doctrine of transcendence than of immanence. It is true Christianity puts forward the hypothesis of a personal God who thinks, wills, loves and holds personal intercourse with persons, but it distinctly affirms that God is a Being whose mode of existence is indeed beyond all powers of comprehension. The link between God and man is not an empty, abstract principle, devoid of attributes which is the Hindu conception of the Soul, it is personality with the attributes of self-consciousness and freedom; but at the same time in God are depths of personality which out-soar the whole field of our vision. Professor Deussen quotes approvingly Kant's view of the unknowableness of God, but he forgets that though Kant held that the speculative reason is impotent to reveal God, still it was he who tried to prove that the consideration of man as a moral, that is to say, as acting creature, that brings us by inevitable steps to the conviction that the soul is immortal, and that God exists. No one has emphasized more the psychological fact that the Self is a centre of force, being in its essence Will, than Kant.

The fact that Higher Hinduism puts forward oneness with God as the highest end of religion and the true aim of life has often been referred to as constituting an important point of contact with Christianity; but we should not be misled by similarity of terminology, for though the idea of union with God occupies the highest place even in Christian teaching, still not only the consummation aimed at is different, the way suggested

for effecting this union in the Christian system is different from that suggested in the Hindu system. Higher Hinduism assumes that man of his own effort,—without any Divine help,—by the acquisition of that wisdom which destroys ignorance,—is able to become one with God as the river becomes one with the ocean into which it runs; whereas Christianity while holding that man is made in the image of God and is destined to have fellowship with God, does not ignore the fact of sin which has alienated man from God. Sin it is that has degraded and debased man, his nature needs to be morally renewed so that fellowship with God may be possible. Christianity further emphasises the truth, which can be tested by experience, that man of his own accord is unable to renew his nature and that the work of Christ is to exercise a regenerating and restoring influence on this corrupted nature, so that it may answer to its destiny, and be able to meet God without fear.

The absolutely central doctrine round which Christianity has always moved, and which has been the secret of its unique hold upon the hearts and consciences of men, is not simply that that God is a Loving Father, but the proof that He has given of His Loving Fatherhood by sending His only begotten Son into the world. The Gospel is the revelation of God's redeeming love, and the Incarnation is the crowning disclosure of God, for Christ indeed revealed the essence of God's being—fatherly love and self-imparting righteousness. It has been well said "If we searched all space, we should discover only the Gospel of power; if we surveyed all time, only the gospel of righteousness. Only in Jesus Christ do we learn the Gospel of grace." In the character of Christ, in His life of self-forgetful love, in His compassion for sinners, in the severity of His judgment on sin; in his condescending grace to redeem man from the power of sin, is manifested the essential charaeter of God. The Incarnation also unfolds the inner mystery of the Divine nature. An essential Fatherhood, an essential Sonship, eternal and intemporal subsists within the sphere of Deity;—a necessary relationship of communion and dependence between two Divine Persons. But let it be remembered that if the doctrine of the Incarnation it is that interprets the love of God in all its fulness, the doctrine of Atonement is inseparable from that of the Incarnation. There is a tendency in these days to emphasise the importance of the Incarnation at the expense of the Atonement, and nothing is more contrary to the

purpose of the New Testament than this. It is impossible to speak of the love of God out of relation to the death of Christ; it is impossible to preach the forgiveness of sins and at the same time under estimate the significance of the Cross. The Gospel of the Atonement addresses itself in a special manner to the sense of sin. The Cross and the rationale of it in relation to the love of God and the sin of Man are for Christianity one thing. Reduced to the simplest religious expression, the doctrine of the Atonement signifies that we owe to Christ and His finished work on the Cross our whole being as Christians.

In Him the Divine purpose of salvation is realized—deliverance from wrath and the imparting of eternal life. The regenerating power of forgiveness depends upon its cost; and it is the knowledge that we have been bought with a price that makes us cease to be our own, and live for Him who so clearly bought us. "The blood of Christ understood in the full measure of its spiritual reality, reveals the true law of man's being, and brings home to him the extent of his degradation. By its revelation of the love of God triumphant over sin, it wins men back from their spiritual aberration, making them ready to return to their allegiance, and willing to give up their sin. It cleanses their conscience from the stain of sin, and sets them free from the curse of the law, by the assurance that a perfect satisfaction has been offered to the righteous claims of the divine justice and by enabling them to make their own the perfect confession of their sins that has already been offered in their name. It is the well-spring of a new power of moral self-determination by which they may be enabled, in spite of the tyrannous domination of past habits, acquired and inherited, and in the midst of an atmosphere of temptation to live henceforth in obedience to God's will."

And the proof of the efficacy of the Cross is it not to be found in Christian life as it is led by those who have accepted Christ as their Saviour? With Christ came a fresh power into life, and the Christian experience of nineteen centuries bears evidence to it. In spite of heresies and schisms, in spite of hindrances to its progress due to human folly and weakness it has manifested throughout its history the same power to transform and regenerate; it "presents the same essential features which it presented nineteen centuries ago; miracles of penitence, miracles of purity, miracles of spiritual power; weakness strengthened, fierceness chastened, passion calmed, and pride subdued; plain men and

philosophers, cottagers and courtiers, living a new life through the faith that Jesus Christ is God." What of the effects of Christian belief on Society? It is an undoubted fact that from Christianity has sprung all that is best in Western civilization. It was by working on the moral freedom and moral accountability of men that Christianity inspired the corrupt and moribund civilization of the Roman Empire with life. Christianity vindicated the spiritual liberty of man and recreated, as it were, the individual. By vindicating the rights and duties of personality it regenerated society. The conception of man's freedom as ethical and spiritual, as resting upon the infinite worth of human personality, and its direct relation with Divine personality, has been the direct source of all that is best in Western civilization. And this power to regenerate and renovate, not only individuals but Society as well, is manifesting itself even in India where Christianity at present is engaged in mortal conflict with Hinduism, the faith of 220,000,000 millions of human beings, a faith which has outlived the changes and changes of 3,000 years.